The Nation.

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The Week.

Speaker Reed's suggestion that the discriminating duty in the Dingley bill on foreign goods brought into the United States by Canadian railways "slipped in unnoticed," as such things are likely to do, leads the Richmond *Dispatch* to remark that when such slippings take place somebody usually gets paid for them. This is certainly a wise thought, and it suggests as one of the earliest duties of Congress that an investigation be promptly ordered into this matter. Here is a clause involving millions of dollars and bringing about a change of the policy of the Government on a matter of grave importance—a clause that nobody hears of till the bill is passed and signed—a clause that could not have been passed if it had been publicly introduced and debated. Is it likely that such a provision was introduced clandestinely by a clerk after the bill had left the hands of the conference committee? It is much more likely that it was introduced by some responsible person or persons with full knowledge of its purport and consequences. Whether it was paid for, as the Richmond paper conjectures, is a thing to be found out if possible. At all events it is the duty of Congress to investigate the whole subject. We shall expect to find Speaker Reed and Chairman Dingley especially eager for an investigation, since their State and their section of the Union are hit hardest by this clause of the bill. The public can form some judgment of the facts by observing which members of the House, if any, oppose an investigation. If it is a fact, as Speaker Reed suggests, that the clause "slipped in," it will be very easy to find out how it slipped in. If it did not slip in, but was bought in, its origin and progress will be more difficult to trace. We trust that no apprehensions of lending aid to Bryanism and 16 to 1 will be allowed to stand in the way.

While it may not be easy to find out how the clause slipped in, nobody can have any doubt who caused the slipping. The "slippers in" were the Pacific railroads. The competition of the Canadian Pacific has been a grievance to them for a long time. They have asked Congress more than once to relieve them of this competition. New England has always been "up in arms" against such relief, and has always defeated it. Now it has been carried by stealth, to the extent of at least excluding Chinese and Japanese goods imported by way of Vancouver. The clause that was "slipped in" says that "a discriminating duty of 10 per centum ad valorem, in addition to the duties imposed by law, shall be levied, collected, and paid on all goods, wares, or merchandise . . . which, being the production or manufacture of any foreign country not contiguous to the United States, shall come into the United States from such contiguous country." This is so plainly an attempt to cut off Chinese and Japanese trade by way of the Canadian Pacific that it is impossible to imagine that it "slipped in" without design on the part of some important person or persons. The question whether a lot of money slipped into somebody's pocket simultaneously is the only thing open to doubt.

There is a remarkable hurrying and scurrying among the silverites in the West. The fall of their favorite metal and the simultaneous rise of wheat are the real cause of the sudden activity of the anti-Bryan Populists. This faction, sometimes called Middle-of-the-Road men, are building their hopes of controlling the Populist party on the fact that Bryan's predictions about wheat and silver have been falsified. So they tell their fellow-Populists that the silver question is not the main thing to be considered. The real issues of the time are railroad freight charges, government by injunction, and the "money power." It seems that the last-named monstrosity is working its way westward with rapid strides, and is likely to settle down in the centre of Nebraska, for, according to the Omaha *Bee*, the increased crops of that State this year, together with the increase of prices, will bring the farmers of the State $96,000,000; being a gain of about $19,000,000 as compared with last year. When the "money power" becomes firmly entrenched in central Nebraska, Mr. Bryan can return to his original vocation of reporter for the local newspapers.

Very few States hold elections this year, and in more than one of these there will be no life in the contest, because the overwhelming triumph of one or other party is assured—Republican victory being certain in Massachusetts, for example, and Democratic in Virginia, while in New York a judgeship of the Court of Appeals is the only office at stake. In but three States will the canvass be watched with national interest—Ohio, Kentucky, and Iowa. The meeting of the Republican convention in Iowa on August 18 really opened the campaign there. Eight years ago the Republicans lost the governorship, for the first time since the party came into power before the war; two years later they were beaten on the State ticket again; and in 1892 they had to work very hard to give Harrison 22,965 more votes than Cleveland, although the Populists ran a separate ticket which had 20,594 supporters. A succession of Republican victories during the next three years did not prevent Iowa's being considered again a doubtful State last year, although the Sound-Money Democrats finally gave McKinley a plurality of over 65,000. Long as it yet is before election, it already seems clear that the opposition to the Republicans stands no chance whatever of success. Moreover, as Iowa is typical of the wide belt of great States now commonly known as the Central West, the conditions which obtain there seem to be characteristic of a large section of the nation, and to indicate the result that might be expected if elections were to be held generally next November. The chief feature of the situation is the utter demoralization of the old Democratic party.

The movement for fusion between the Bryan Democrats, the Populists, and the Silver Republicans in this year's campaign in Iowa broke down as soon as the three State conventions met a few weeks ago. The similar movement in Bryan's own State appears to have collapsed ten days before the assembling of the conventions on the 1st of September. County conventions, for the choice of delegates to their State convention, have been held by the Populists throughout Nebraska, and a majority of them were controlled by the "Middle-of-the-Road" element, which believes in "going it alone." With a hearty union for "Nebraska's favorite son" the fusionists gave Bryan last year less than 13,000 plurality over McKinley. With anything short of an effective fusion by the opposition the Republicans seem certain to carry the State easily this year. The troubles which Bryan encounters at home are the same as in Iowa and other States. On the one hand, there are in Nebraska, as elsewhere, a considerable number of voters who honestly believe in the principles of the Populist party, and who see that the Democrats with whom they acted last year really care nothing for those principles. On the other hand, there is a large body of men who voted for the Bryan ticket last year because times were hard, and they were ready to support almost anything in order to get a change, but who now find that a change for the better has come without Bryan's election. Neither of these elements is any longer open to the arguments which were used with effect upon them last year.

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The position of the Hon. Horace Boies on the silver question has been the subject of painful doubt for several months. In the campaign of last year he was a supporter of Bryan and 16 to 1. About the time that candidates for the governorship of Iowa began to be talked of this year, the rumor got abroad that Mr. Boies, although still a Bryan man, was no longer a 16-to-1 man, whereupon his name was dropped from the list of candidates, to his own contentment, it was said. The rumor proves true, for in the course of a speech at Marshalltown on Thursday evening, Mr. Boies solemnly renounced his belief in 16 to 1, and declared himself in favor of the Windom plan of bimetallism, of which he gave the following definition:

"Issue Treasury notes against silver bullion at the market price of silver when deposited, payable on demand in any such quantities in silver bullion as will equal in value at the date of presentation the number of dollars expressed on the face of the notes at the market price of silver, or in gold at the option of the Government, or in silver dollars at the option of the holder."

For example, if a man had deposited 1,000 ounces of silver bullion at the Treasury a fortnight ago under the Windom plan, he would have received approximately $550 in Treasury notes. Then suppose that the notes were presented for redemption a week later, silver having declined say 3 cents per ounce. They would be redeemable in whatever quantity of silver bullion $550 would buy, *i. e.*, about six per cent. more bullion than the Government received. Fortunately, it has a supply from which it could make up the difference, but the Government could redeem the notes with $550 gold if it should prefer to do so, or the holder of the notes could demand $550 in silver dollars. While this plan speaks volumes for the honesty of Mr. Boies, who abhors the cheating that would result from the 16-to-1 plan, the difficulty of making its operation clear to the common understanding will probably prevent its ever becoming popular during his lifetime.

The Republican party of Virginia is in a melancholy condition. Although it came within about 19,000 votes of carrying the Old Dominion for McKinley last year, the State executive committee met last week and decided not to nominate any ticket for the State election this year. The committee also deposed the late chairman, but he contends that the meeting was illegal, and says that he shall call a State convention next month. Whether he does or not is a matter of no consequence to the Democrats, as the other Republican faction would not support his ticket. The trouble grows out of squabbling over the patronage, and is an impressive lesson on the hopelessness of building up a party in any State with federal offices.

Comptroller Eckels's address at the bankers' convention at Detroit last week was a strong restatement of the reason why the Treasury should take itself out of the banking business by retiring its circulating notes and restricting itself to its proper function, collecting and disbursing the money needed for the Government's expenses. He quotes among other things the vigorous protest against the legal-tender act made in 1862 by Mr. Justin S. Morrill, now Senator and then Representative from Vermont. This recalls the fact that Mr. Morrill and Mr. Sherman were both in Congress when that act was passed, that both have been continuously in public life since that time, and that both have been leaders of their party in matters relating to finance. Mr. Morrill opposed the legal-tender act, and voted against it. Mr. Sherman favored it and voted for it. Mr. Morrill has been in favor of every measure that has been before Congress since that time to retire the greenbacks, and Mr. Sherman has opposed every such measure. Mr. Morrill is certainly as good a Republican as Mr. Sherman and as much entitled to the confidence of his party. Yet every suggestion that the greenbacks be retired is treated by some persons as a sort of party treason. We commend to their attention the example of the venerable Senator from Vermont, "Father Morrill," as he is sometimes called, who pronounced maledictions on the greenbacks thirty-five years ago, and has never retracted a word that he then said about them.

The law as to injunctions and contempt of court for their violation was laid down by Judge Goff of the United States Circuit Court very clearly at Clarksburg, W. Va., on Saturday in the cases of some miners who had been arrested and lodged in jail for disregarding the famous injunction order issued by Judge Jackson. Judge Goff pointed out that the simple question was whether the defendants were in contempt of court, and declared that, if they were aware that the court had passed the decree granting the injunction, and were aware of its terms and import, and if they interfered with or intimidated the employees of the coal company, thereby preventing them from getting to or from their work or causing them to abandon it, then they were guilty of the contempt charges, and should be, must be, and would be punished. He reviewed the evidence, and showed that the body of strikers to which the defendants belonged had really interfered with the work at the mines, and intended by their demonstrations so to interfere. They knew of the injunction, and, when it was read to them, some of them replied, "We will take the consequences." There consequently could be no doubt of their guilt; but as the Judge considered them thoroughly honest in their claim that they had the right to march and act as they did, because they were on the "public highway," he let them off with three days' imprisonment apiece; but he served warning that, if others should follow their example after the law had been laid down, they would be severely punished.

Judge Goff cleared up one point which seems to have puzzled some people who had less excuse for confusion over it than the ignorant miners. This is the assumption that a body of strikers have the right to make almost any sort of a demonstration, provided the scene of it is the "public highway." In this case over 200 men assembled before daybreak, marched along the road until they came opposite the opening of a mine, and then took possession of the highway on each side for a distance of at least a quarter of a mile, at the exact places where the miners were in the habit of crossing that highway for the purpose of going from their homes to their work. The striking miners seemed to think that they could go and come on and over the country road as they pleased, because it was a public highway, but the Judge declared that this was a mistake, since the working miners had the same right to use the public road as the strikers had, and it was not open and free to their use when it was occupied by over two hundred men stationed along it at intervals of three and five feet. As a matter of fact, it was shown that some of the miners who wanted to work were deterred from doing so because they were afraid to pass through this hostile line. To say that such interference with the rights of laborers must be permitted because the offenders conduct their operations in a public highway, would be to throw the influence of the public on the side of disorder.

The Mississippi judiciary seems resolved to do its full duty in the matter of lynching. Three judges took occasion in opening court week before last to enunciate their position most clearly and emphatically. Judge Sykes at Corinth declared that mob law must be stopped, or government would prove a failure; law and order must prevail, or the mob would rule in everything. Judge Powell at Raymond called the attention of the grand jury to the recent hanging of a negro by a mob in that county, and instructed them to inquire diligently into it and, if possible, indict those who participated in the mob. Judge Cassedy at Monticello portrayed the horrors of lynching, showed clearly the effect which utter disregard of the law would have on the community, and said that to take the life of a fellow-creature, except in necessary self-defence or by due process of law, is cold-blooded murder. Coming

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down from generals to particulars, he referred to the pending case of a negro accused of a grave crime, and threatened with vengeance, announced that he was sworn to protect the life and limb of every man on trial in his court, and declared that it was his intention to give the negro a fair and impartial trial, cost whatever it might, and that no mob could get him unless they first walked over his dead body. Nothing could do more to bring people to their senses and put an end to the craze for lynching than such words from the bench. We are glad to observe, by the way, that the recent accusation against an Alabama judge of using most improper language regarding "a white man's country and a white man's court" is disproved, and that what Judge Banks really said during a trial at Decatur was approved by both races.

Nothing affords stronger evidence of the popular strength of Mr. Low's candidacy than the straits to which it puts Tammany for a candidate. All the Tammany leaders realize that somebody not closely identified with the organization in the past, and somebody of irreproachable personal character, must be found to run for Mayor. What is wanted is a man who will draw independently-disposed Democrats away from Mr. Low—that is, a man who will give assurance that as Mayor he would be as desirable an official, from the point of good city government, as Mr. Low would be. The latest possibility in this direction is said to be Judge Van Brunt. A short time ago it was Judge Morgan J. O'Brien. It is extremely doubtful if either one of these men would consent to stand. Both prefer the bench to politics, and would be most reluctant to leave it. Aside from them Tammany has not been credited with thought about anybody as a candidate who could be looked upon as meeting the exigencies of the situation. If by any possibility Mr. Low were to be removed from the field, we should see at once a decided lowering of the present Tammany standard of availability, and the difficulty of finding a Tammany candidate who should give reasonable assurance of election would be greatly lessened.

The anxieties of the English Government over the situation in India will undoubtedly be increased by the conflicts on the frontier. But the more serious causes of concern had come to light before, and are independent of the movements of the tribes to the north, however formidable these may for a time appear. Armed incursions and revolts the Indian Government can face with confidence, but what is it to do to allay the sullen dissatisfaction and growing sense of unrest within the empire itself? That was the really alarming feature of the recent cold-blooded assassination of the English officials, Rand and Ayerst. There was no personal grievance to be avenged, but a blow was to be struck to show the settled discontent of the natives with British rule. This discontent has been nursed by a form of political agitation which has been in existence in India for ten years or more, and which is now more threatening than ever. It is organized in native associations, led for the most part by educated young men, which have for their fundamental object the redress of the intolerable grievances which, it is alleged, the inhabitants of India suffer from the vice-regal government. With a vernacular press of growing power and recklessness to foster the agitation, with native congresses becoming popular, and the demand for a certain measure of home rule becoming loudly advocated, the elements of a serious internal disturbance are evidently present.

It should not be forgotten that the troubles of the British on the India frontier are greatly heightened by the Government's determination to retain Chitral. When the Indus was the frontier, a disturbance among the independent tribes beyond was easily dealt with. All the military authorities had to do was to close up the outlets of the valleys of the offending tribe, shut their markets to its traders, and wait quietly till it submitted or till a convenient time came to send out a punitive expedition. But now the situation is entirely changed. Small bodies of natives or mixed troops are pushed up hundreds of miles beyond the main line of defence. Their communications are subject to attack by any one of a long succession of tribes; transportation is difficult and costly, and the time for fighting is chosen to suit the convenience of the tribesmen, not the British officers. But for this new phase of the problem, the mobilization of 35,000 troops on the frontier would not have been necessary. Their presence is demanded not so much for actual fighting as to hold the country, to protect communications, to support and relieve the garrisons. This is really the direct result of the decision to hold on to Chitral, after the Indian Government had announced that the object of going there was simply to make a demonstration in force and then retire.

The Sultan has the Powers dead-locked again, it is reported. Nobody can remember how many times he has had them so before. It is an old game for him and he knows its every move. For four years, 1878-1882, he stolidly faced the same Powers, and finally carried his point. The Congress of Berlin, it will be remembered, handed over to Greece not only Thessaly, but also a large slice of Epirus. But the Turk refused to surrender Epirus. He took to "negotiating" instead. He negotiated with such skill that in the end the Powers were completely fagged, and said, "Well, then, keep Epirus." This final settlement was not effected till November, 1882. At that rate; the negotiations about Thessaly will be going on earnestly in 1901. The Sultan is plainly preparing to tire out Europe again. Moreover, he clearly perceives the inherent weakness of the Concert of Europe. As a writer in the *Fortnightly* points out, the Concert was never framed either to resist or to coerce the Sultan. It had and has no such mandate. It originally came into being in 1894, on the initiative of Lord Kimberley, to inquire into the Armenian massacres. Then it was continued for the purpose of urging "reforms" upon the Sultan. He reformed cheerfully, at their request, but the more he reformed the more he was the same old reprobate. Then came the Cretan troubles and the war with Greece, with each of which the Concert showed itself wholly unable to cope. So it apparently is now with the settlement of the terms of peace. The Concert was not created for any such purpose, and is a most bungling instrument for the end in view. The Sultan pretends to submit to the Concert, but then makes some proposition which hopelessly divides the Concert, and shows that it is nothing but a committee of disagreeing members. In that guise it stands to-day.

While "dollar wheat" is presumably making all Americans rich and happy, it seems to be filling the French with great alarm. Where are they going to get their bread? If the present high prices of flour go higher, what will the consumer do? This question does not, of course, trouble us here in the United States, because, if flour goes up a dollar a barrel, we have a benevolent President to increase our wages and salaries and profits correspondingly, so that we pay the difference without knowing it. But M. Méline, though as ardent a protectionist as Mr. McKinley, has not been able to make *his* tariff bring general prosperity; hence the complaints about dear bread, coming from the artisan class. It has occurred to the anxious consumers to appeal to M. Méline, at this juncture, to reduce the import duties on wheat, or if not on wheat at any rate on flour. But to do so would be little short of an outrage on the French farmers. Their grain duties, in ordinary years, are only less of a humbug than are our own. Like ours, they are meant only to fool the farmer. But now that an unnatural scarcity promises to make them really effective, it would be the very suicide of protectionism to lower them. When nature comes to the help of man and makes the necessaries of life scarce and dear, it would be very like flying in the face of Providence to try to bring food within the reach of needy millions by repealing a protective tax.

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HARVESTS AND POLITICS.

Not least interesting among the advices from the grain-producing districts have been the brief announcements of the failure of one or two Populist conventions. These political gatherings were duly convened; the chairman and the secretary were on hand, and two or three of the professional Bryanite barnstormers of last summer were in sight when the doors were opened. But nobody else put in an appearance.

We shall hear much more of this sort of news between now and the sowing of next season's winter wheat crop. This indifference of the farmers will, without any question, play its part in next autumn's elections in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys. The overwhelming break in silver, along with a rapid advance in wheat, is an important object-lesson in itself, but political developments would probably be the same even if silver had advanced with wheat. The chief factor in the situation is better times in the grain-growing States, without any tampering or experimenting with the standard of value.

The farmers of Kansas, who gave Bryan a plurality of 12,269 last November, and the farmers of Nebraska, who gave him a plurality of 13,470, were neither born agitators nor dishonest citizens. The very great majority of this Bryan vote was cast by people who had not the slightest comprehension of the free-coinage issue. But their own situation was really deplorable—partly, it is true, through their own mismanagement, but largely also through the accident of nature; and with the proverbial tendency of unlucky people, they were disposed to put the blame anywhere except where it properly belonged. Let us notice exactly what was the state of things. Nine years ago, when the country as a whole yielded a heavy crop of corn, these two corn-growing States produced an average harvest. In 1890 came one of the periodical crop shortages abroad; another followed it in 1891. The result was that the price of corn rose 50 per cent., and in 1891 a crop of exceptional magnitude was sold at this advance. Very much the same experience happened with wheat, of which crop also a good deal is produced in Kansas and Nebraska. The result was that all Kansas and Nebraska went to work raising wheat and corn. This of itself was a natural and proper sequel to the movement of the markets; but unfortunately a large part of the increased acreage was undertaken on the basis of borrowed money, as a speculation. Still more unluckily, these borrowings were largely based on the prices of 1890 and 1891. With 80-cent wheat and 60-cent corn produced in plenty through the succeeding years, these farmers would have come out ahead on their speculation; without such a result, some at least of them were doomed to certain ruin.

No more disastrous speculation was ever undertaken by an industrious community. To begin with, all the other arable land of the Western States was turned into farms of the same two staples. Between 1885 and 1891, the planted area of corn in the entire United States increased 3,000,000 acres; the area of wheat nearly 5,000,000. Inspired by the high European prices of 1891, foreign producing states made similar enlargement of their acreage. The Danube countries and the Argentine Republic began to raise and export even corn. The crops of Kansas and Nebraska increased rapidly; but the price of corn at farm declined from 50½ to 36½ cents a bushel, and this, though a plain commercial consequence, was very far from what the borrowers on farm mortgages had looked for. It was an easy theory to set up that the "money power" of the East was grinding the farmer under the weight of intolerable charges. But it very soon became manifest that the bargain was as bad for the lenders as for the borrowers. In 1893, half of the largest farm-mortgage companies doing business in Kansas and Nebraska failed, and holders of their debentures were left in as sorry straits as the farmers who had used their money. To cap the climax, the corn crop of 1894 in these two States was almost completely ruined by drought. Kansas, which produced 139,450,000 bushels in 1893, had in the next year less than 42,000,000 to sell. Nebraska's production fell from 157,000,000 bushels to 13,800,000. The price of corn advanced, of course, on this wholesale devastation; but the advance made little difference to the Kansas-Nebraska farmers.

Events such as these in the agricultural States were doubly unfortunate from their coincidence with the commercial break-down in the East, and with the collapse of the national finances under the three reckless laws passed for the revenue, the expenditures, and the currency, by the Congress of 1890. The rise of the Populist party had its origin as plainly in these misfortunes to the farmers as the fiat-money craze in 1874 and the free-coinage movement of 1878 had their birth in similar phenomena. In 1874 the grain markets were congested by enormous wheat production, at home and abroad, exactly as they were twenty years later. Ohio and Indiana, then the central wheat-producing States, became known as the "hotbeds of inflation." In 1878, largely because of the new acreage in Kansas, Nebraska, and the Northwest, our wheat and corn production rose far beyond any previously recorded. But the crops of the outside world equally passed their previous maximum; cereal prices declined rapidly, farm mortgages ate up all the profit of speculative farmers, and in the fall of 1878 the wheat-producing States were either barely carried for the sound-money administration, as in the case of Ohio, or went for the opposition on the most extreme financial platforms, as with Michigan and Kansas.

The remarkable similarity between the agricultural situation in 1879 and the situation now, following, as the developments in both years have done, a long season of enormous world-wide production, low grain prices, and embarrassment of farmers who had rashly contracted debt, will lend peculiar interest to political events this autumn and next year. Paper-money inflation was killed by the harvest of 1879, happily coinciding with resumption; free silver disappeared as an issue for nearly a decade. In the Presidential election of 1880, the Greenback ticket received in Kansas only 19,851 votes out of 201,226, in Nebraska only 3,950 out of 87,452. It is reasonable, in the light of all experience, to look for a similar result this coming year. If, as fortunately seems to be indicated, the farmers use their present profits, not as a basis for new debt, but as a means of acquiring actual ownership, we shall hear little of Populism for a long time to come. The price of wheat to-day stands 40 cents per bushel above its price a year ago. Current reports of injury to the Northwestern wheat may affect, in some measure, the actual total product, but the most recent commercial estimates predict that the Southwestern group of wheat-producing States, including Kansas and others which rolled up a heavy Bryan majority last November, will this year harvest, in face of the great advance in price, 95,000,000 bushels, against only 59,000,000 in 1896.

THE STRIKE INJUNCTIONS.

The peacefulness of the great coal strike, which has now been going on for several weeks, has attracted universal attention, and no one will grudge the miners the credit they have got for it. Their quiet attitude is all the more creditable to them because a certain portion of the press have done their utmost during the whole period to incite the men to violence—not, indeed, deliberately, but with that irresponsible recklessness which is equally dangerous. If they have not misrepresented the orders of court which have been issued, they have denounced the judges issuing them with a violence of language eminently calculated in a time of disturbance to incite to resistance to the law. One paper suggests that Judge Jackson be impeached; another calls for a "severe example," and denounces his action as "tyrannous," declares that the acts of "men like Jackson" are doing more to bring the discontented into "hot antagonism" to the established order than "most other causes put together," and

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that Judge Jackson's order is "as gross a usurpation of power as any ever recorded in the annals of tyranny"; a third insists that it is superfluous to discuss the question at all, and a fourth declares that the strikers have been denied a right "inherent in American citizenship." The newspapers in which we find this extreme language are not strike organs, but the Chicago *Inter Ocean*, the Springfield *Republican*, and the Boston *Herald*. We shall not waste time in arguing that the general drift of such words at such a time is provocative in a high degree. If any one who sympathizes with the oppressed doubts it, let him ask himself how he would feel if he believed that the description of what the courts were about was true.

In the multiplicity of injunctions which have been granted, it would be very strange if some mistakes should not have been made, which, however, are always subject to correction by the court on cause being shown, and it is utterly impossible to discuss such a matter wholesale. At the time of the Debs injunction in 1894 we expressed the opinion that resort to courts of equity by the Government of the United States to suppress disorders connected with strikes was a mistake, and many of our readers no doubt shared the feeling that the sheriff, and police, and troops were the proper remedy; but when this very argument was addressed to the Supreme Court, the judges unanimously said that it could have no force with them, whether it was sound or not, because they were appealed to, in a case where the jurisdiction was clear, to issue a writ which they had no right to deny; and any one who has not a very low opinion of the Supreme Court must believe that the judges acted upon a conscientious conviction that they could not do otherwise than they did, for at least four of them, with Judge Harlan at their head, were known to have strong leanings against straining the law in favor of corporate and "monopolistic" wealth.

Of all the recent important decisions of the Supreme Court, we know of none which shows greater deliberation and sense of responsibility, and none which is plainer in its statement of principles, than the Debs case. Although it related directly to a railway strike, it covered the whole ground of injunctions against acts constituting interferences with property rights, both in the State and federal courts, and it constitutes, and was intended to constitute, a permanent guide for the action of inferior courts. That it will be followed there is no room for doubt, and those who wish to advise strikers should study it, not rave about inalienable rights which have no existence. Until the Populists have their way and destroy the Supreme Court, it is the law of the land, and it is probably because it is the law of the land that the present strike is so peaceable.

It should be borne in mind that to say in advance what specific acts may be enjoined in a strike and what may not is utterly out of the question. In the Debs case (158 U. S. 564), the case made by the bill was forcible obstruction of interstate commerce; the jurisdiction of the court was rested on actual or threatened interference with property or rights of a pecuniary nature, the same ground which is appealed to every day by private individuals in the case of nuisances and trespass. It was objected that it was outside the powers of a court of equity to restrain the commission of crimes. In reply to this, the court said that the power to prevent injury to property was not affected by the fact that, if not exercised, crimes might ensue (p. 593); and this, as anybody may satisfy himself by looking at the cases cited by Judge Brewer in his opinion, is no novel federal assumption, but well-recognized law in the State courts. The injunction, in that instance, was very broad, since it enjoined the strikers from entering on the railroad premises, from attempting to induce employees of the railroads to "refuse or fail to perform any of their duties," and from threats and intimidation, whether for the purpose of inducing employees to leave the railway service or of preventing others from entering it. To sum up the whole thing, what the strikers and their leaders were trying to do was to bring the railroads to a standstill. On the ground of threatened irreparable injury to the pecuniary rights of the United States in the transportation of the mails, every conceivable act in furtherance of the conspiracy was enjoined, even acts which under ordinary circumstances would have been lawful.

The important thing, it seems to us, is that everybody in the United States should understand that the violence and disturbance of former strikes have led, not to the introduction, but to the wide application, by the courts of a remedy which paralyzes the arm on which strike-agitators used to rely, because it brings within the reach of every property-owner in the United States who sees his workmen banded together to stop his work, and who can satisfy a judge that he is really in danger, a local preventive constabulary, which forbids whatever acts or deeds the judge deems dangerous, under penalties for disobedience which no man or body of men can safely face. Such is the law, and, in our opinion, the remedy will continue to be applied until the fears of the property-owning class cease to be acute. That can only be when the courts are persuaded that the dangers apprehended do not exist, and when that time comes there will be no more applications for strike injunctions. Meanwhile, to our minds, what is needed is not tirades against them, but a thorough comprehension of what the law is.

THE KEY TO GOOD FOREIGN RELATIONS.

A Chicago dispatch reports that Mr. Northcote, a son of the late Lord Iddesleigh, living in that city, has given out the opinion that the real attitude of Americans towards England is one of "indifference." He thinks that the majority of Americans consider England an "effete monarchy," but at the same time believes that the interests which the two countries have in common will always prevent a serious quarrel.

For two or three years past the English press has teemed with articles on the attitude and temper of America, and the question whether America hates or loves England; yet, so far as we have observed, the question is no nearer solution now than it was at first, and we doubt if Mr. Northcote's solution is accepted by anybody. The tremendous anti-English excitement which was cooked up for two months over the Venezuelan boundary would not have been possible had Americans in general regarded England with indifference. That no considerable body of Americans consider England to be an effete monarchy, can be proved in black and white by reference to the thousand and one articles on the Jubilee in the American press; while, of course, it is merely begging the question to say that common interests must necessarily prevent a serious quarrel. They may, and then again they may not.

While we ourselves believe that a war between the United States and England would be such a monstrous calamity that it is impossible to conceive of either country deliberately entering upon a policy with war as an end in view, it is absurd to pretend that the relations between the two countries may not be severely strained, or that war is out of the question. They were severely strained during the civil war; they were severely strained during the long discussion over the *Alabama* arbitration after the war had ended; while the Venezuela dispute, and in a different way the seals correspondence, go to show that there are causes of irritation between the two countries which are likely at any time to break out and produce trouble, and at least an angry exchange of abuse in the newspapers, all of which is deplorable in itself and leaves behind the seeds of further misunderstanding.

But it must be evident to any one who looks at the matter dispassionately that no amount of inquiry as to the "real feeling" of America for England, or discussion whether it is indifference or hate, or a mixture of both, or love or good will, or a keen sense of a community of interest, throws much light on the possibilities which such troubles may have in store for us. The political dealings of the two countries with one another are not carried on, as their business is, by the nations at large or

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the individuals who compose them, but by a small number of selected representatives—the President and Congress on one side and Parliament and a cabinet on the other, and during most of the time by the Secretary of State here and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in England. In fact, when Congress and Parliament are not in session, these two persons have the whole business in their own hands.

Behind these representatives stand two nations of the same blood, both fond of money and land, both adventurous and combative, and both having a profound belief in themselves and an inherited tendency to attribute acts of national aggression and violence to very lofty motives. Under such circumstances, whatever may be in doubt, one thing that is clear is, that the relations and state of feeling between the two countries must depend, in the main, not merely on the sentiment which animates one people or the other, but primarily on the behavior of these selected representatives or agents who carry on their business. The very fact that they are selected representatives and trusted agents shows that, unless there is something very extraordinary about their behavior, they will generally be "backed up," whatever the consequences may be, by the body of the people behind them. The people of this country, for instance, backed up Mr. Cleveland in his Venezuela ultimatum, with little or no understanding of the merits of the matter or of the meaning of the "Monroe Doctrine"; and the people of England, and even the Opposition in the House of Commons, are to-day "backing up" Lord Salisbury in a European foreign policy the ultimate purposes of which hardly any one professes to understand. This is partly a necessity of the case, arising out of the fact that foreign business, unlike domestic politics, is still carried on with mediæval secrecy, until the occasion comes when the agent thinks fit to reveal what he has been doing.

Consequently, the great desideratum for a good understanding between America and England is less an inquiry into the sentiments which animate the two peoples than the most careful selection of the men who are to carry on this vastly important and secret business, for it is on their character that the relations of the countries depend. One constant cause of misunderstanding with England at present arises from our attempt to treat this fact as if it did not exist. When Mr. Sherman was selected for Secretary of State, the question of his mental competency was raised at once by the correspondents, and there were plenty of persons who knew him to be out of the question; but no attention was paid to this by the appointing power, and the "shirt-sleeves" dispatch was the result. Now, we venture to say that the idea that this could be the explanation of that extraordinary communication never entered the head of any Englishman in public life until we in this country let the cat out of the bag. It did not enter their heads, because such an appointment could not be made in England. For two generations the habit of considering fitness the first test in appointment to office has become so ingrained in the English mind that it is very difficult for English people to imagine the state of affairs which has come to exist at Washington in our time, and is still tolerated and even encouraged there, of picking out a high officer of state so as to make a place for some other politician somewhere else. To an English public man such a step would be not only unintelligible, but horrible. No doubt, it is stupid for him not to inform himself more thoroughly as to all the possibilities of public life in this country, but to this extent he must be allowed a little latitude, for it hardly lies in our mouth to complain very loudly of his error in taking it for granted that our Secretary of State was mentally sound.

Now that the condition of affairs in the State Department is understood in England, what are we to say of the effect that it will have on the relations of the two countries? Nobody can be sure that it will have any, it being taken for granted that it will not be allowed to last; but the extraordinary character of the trouble over the "shirt-sleeves" dispatch may serve to remind us that the actual conduct of the business of diplomacy between two countries like America and England is of vastly more importance than the condition of sentiment and feeling on either side. What prevented war between the United States and England in 1861? It was not indifference, or amiability, or popular hatred of fighting, but the character of the representatives of the two countries, and especially of the United States—Lincoln, Adams, and Seward—and the fact that they had been picked out on both sides as the very best men to do their work who could be found.

A NEW PROFESSION.

There is a marked contrast between the methods employed by men in making investments in real property and mortgages and those which they follow in investing in other securities. In the city of New York, and the cities generally, whoever buys a piece of land or takes a mortgage has his title examined by a trained and responsible expert, to whom he—or the maker of the mortgage—pays a substantial fee. To omit this precaution, except under peculiar circumstances, is regarded as decidedly unwise and unsafe. Fiduciary institutions invariably require it, and so do all trustees. These conditions have therefore resulted in the existence of a regular body of trained conveyancers, whose special business has become a recognized profession.

If we inquire into the practice of men who invest in corporate bonds, we find an entirely different condition of affairs. Conveyancers themselves, who will not let a client make a loan on bond and mortgage without the most thorough investigation, will buy a railroad bond in complete ignorance of the real condition of the property securing the loan. They may, it is true, ask the opinion of their bankers or brokers, but this opinion is seldom based on any truly scientific induction, and is never, we might almost say, comparable with that of a conveyancer upon title. The bankers and brokers hear the current gossip; they know many significant things about railroad directors and managers; they may happen to know about the borrowings for current expenses of particular roads. But unless they have special sources of information, they can give their customers only the current opinion of the financial world. This may be generally correct, but it is liable to be mistaken, and the consequences may be disastrous in the extreme. Every one has bought because every one else bought, and when the security on which they relied comes to be tested it is found to be insufficient.

Nor should it be forgotten that bankers are under constant temptation to take optimistic views. They are offered large commissions to "float" bonds, and it is only natural that even honest bankers should behold the future through rose-colored glasses. They are not, as a class, trained to the scientific determination of all the causes that may operate in favor of or against a railway. They are, of course, as a rule, able men, many of them men of the greatest sagacity. But they are not qualified nor do they undertake to act as advisers. They do not make it their profession to give opinions on any cases that may be submitted to them. They will give their friends and customers the benefit of their information and judgment; but they do not offer information and judgment for sale, as a lawyer or a doctor offers his opinions.

Mr. T. L. Greene's recent book, 'Corporation Finance,' shows the necessity of establishing a new profession. There ought to be men as well qualified to certify to the merits of railroad bonds as the men who now certify to the merits of land-titles. They should make it their business to analyze and verify the official reports of corporations, and to check these reports by collateral investigations and comparisons. There are now, it is true, quite a number of professional auditors, but they are generally called on only in case of extensive reorganizations, when the overhauling has to be complete, although they have been

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sometimes employed to recommend certain securities to investors. But what is required is a class of responsible experts, available for the service of the ordinary investor who has a few thousand dollars at a time to put into something. Such investors, whether men or women, and the trustees of churches, colleges, hospitals, and many other institutions, are often much worried by the investments that they have to make, as well as by those that they have made. Were they able to secure expert advice at a moderate expense, they would find it a great convenience, and in the end a great saving. The losses of the last few years have been so severe as to make people conservative, and if it were found practicable to obtain really trustworthy advice concerning the merits of investments, very few investors would dispense with it.

The beginnings of the new profession are already visible. The number of men who are now competent to pass on the validity of municipal bonds is considerable, and the forms of corporation mortgages and stock certificates are subjected to critical examination by bankers' counsel. But, as Mr. Greene shows, the coming bond conveyancer will have to do more than this. He must be able to take the published reports of corporations, and by comparison and analysis drag the truth out of them. He may not be able to detect absolute falsification. If a railroad reports that it has bought a thousand freight-cars when it has really bought only five hundred, it may for a time deceive those who do not physically inspect it. But such frauds as this are seldom attempted, because they cannot be carried on without admitting too many people into knowledge of the deceit. And there are many ways in which such a fraud must soon disclose itself to the trained eye. There are the reports of former years, and the reports of similar corporations, comparisons of which show with relentless accuracy the true conditions of corporate enterprises. To analyze these reports and draw from them correct inferences requires ability of a high order, but we do not suffer from lack of ability. Ability suffers rather from lack of opportunity, and in the field described by Mr. Greene there appears to be ample opportunity. The public can well afford to pay those who are able to save it from throwing away its money in dishonest and badly managed enterprises.

THE POURBOIRE IN DANGER.

The inroads of the "tipping" habit upon our severe republican simplicity have often been commented upon. Its conquests have been deplored by jealous patriots who would not willingly see the servility (or the serviceableness) of the lower classes in Europe imported into this fair land. But their efforts to stay its triumphant march have been, it must be confessed, but so much labor lost. Tip-givers admit all their arguments, but go on tipping. Nor have the appeals to the manhood and independence of servants and waiters seemed to make their palms any the less ready to secrete the grateful coin. Indeed, the takers of tips might well say that there is a delightful confusion of ideas in the way they have been rebuked by social reformers like Mr. Howells. Which is the more demoralizing, to pocket a fee, or to pocket superior advice? To be bidden to assert yourself against the man who would break down your independence by a gift, but to be expected to submit in a craven spirit to the directions how to conduct your life by a man who descends upon you from the upper spheres, is not a little puzzling. At any rate, tippers and tippees have gone on increasing in the United States in an astonishing way, within the memory of any man of middle age.

But while this foreign custom is thus subduing us, it is, strangely enough, suffering a powerful attack, in an unexpected way, right in its immemorial home. To say that there is a possibility of no more pourboires in France sounds almost like saying that there will be no more travelling in France, no more dining, no more living in hotels, no more concierges, no more garçons. Yet a strong movement in favor of abolishing the pourboire, at least in cafés and restaurants, is now on foot in Paris. The comic illustrators picture the astonished guest actually going on b's knees to the waiter to try to get him to take the customary pourboire, while that majestic being pushes it away as sternly as Cæsar did the crown. That is the astonishing part of the whole affair—the protest against the pourboire is made by those who have been in the habit of receiving it.

Let no one think that this is due to a belated spreading in Paris of American ideas of manhood and the dignity of labor. This would be doing the French waiters too much credit. No, their revolt against the pourboire springs from much more elementary human instincts, the desire to live, for instance. The case is this. The pourboire has given a chance to keepers of cafés to oppress their employees. By maintaining a pretty close watch, they have arrived at a fair notion of how much a waiter receives on the average in the form of pourboires. This has gradually suggested the practice not only of paying no wages at all to garçons in frequented restaurants, but of compelling them actually to buy their positions. Nay, in addition they are forced to turn over to their employers all that they receive above a certain sum, which, of course, is a sum all the while tending to the minimum. In the keen competition of French society, men are found willing to do waiters' work for a bare subsistence, and they set the standard to which the others, under the system mentioned, are forced more and more to conform. The more they get in pourboires, the more they have to give up. French lucidity at last saw that the only hope was in the abolition of the pourboire and the return to a system of fixed wages, and accordingly the waiters, to the infinite amusement of the wits and the bouleyardiers, are now quietly requesting their customers to omit the pourboire altogether.

Economically, the situation is a new illustration of Ricardo's doctrine of rent. Rent of land is, scientifically, the difference between the productiveness of good land and of that which yields a bare subsistence. In this point of view, the waiter is simply the tenant of the restaurant-keeper. If he takes in pourboires to the amount of 10 francs a day, while another gets only 3, and can manage to live on that sum, the first has to pay over 7 francs, which is clearly Ricardian rent. The garçon is no longer a hired servant, but simply a *métayer*. His position and tools are furnished him, but the inexorable doctrine of rent reduces his returns to the bare sum required to support life. It is this "iron law" so visibly at work, and not any fanciful notions about personal independence, which has led the French waiter to rise against the tyranny of the pourboire.

Another urgent motive for doing so would be furnished him in the concern just now manifested in France over the undoubted growth of alcoholism. This has caught the attention of many medical men, and for it they have assigned many causes. A Dr. Legrain, in charge of an asylum for inebriates at Ville-Evrard, has ingeniously argued that one unmistakable cause is the pourboire. He is not punning; he is sober, if his patients are not. They number, he says, some 250, and of them a very undue proportion he finds to consist of *garçons de café*, coachmen, porters, valets, and servants—the class, in short, most in the habit of receiving pourboires. Evidently this kind of tip is taken in France with great literalness; and waiters might well pause to consider, in the light of Dr. Legrain's statistics, how in the end it biteth like an adder. But we fear that their agitation is not reinforced by such moral considerations.

The whole thing is suggestive, however, of the way in which the evil—if we grant that it is an evil—can alone be successfully attacked. Something extra for the performance of simple duty will be given as long as those who give think they will be better served in consequence; or simply out of compliance with imperious custom; or perhaps on the conviction that wages are kept low because they are expected to be supplemented by tips. Pourboires will be taken, too, in spite of all the moral

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and social reasoning that can be brought against them. But let them work into such unpleasant results as the Paris waiters are now experiencing, and the case is at once altered. Selfish human nature does sometimes quietly effect a social reform beyond the achievement of unselfish reformers.

INEDITED LETTERS OF NAPOLEON I.—II.

PARIS, August 12, 1897.

I have tried to give an idea of the tone of Napoleon's correspondence with his brothers; he assumed at all times towards them the character of a master, and the clannish feelings of the Bonapartes made it seem almost natural that he should do so. He owed much to Lucien, but his other brothers owed everything to him.

From the tone of his family correspondence it is easy to imagine how he spoke to his ministers. There are, in the two volumes published by M. Léon Lecestre, many letters addressed to Fouché, the Oratorian, whom Napoleon made Duke of Otranto, and who was for a long time his Prefect of Police, afterwards becoming one of the instruments in the restoration of the Bourbons. In the first letter addressed to him (on the 23d Frimaire, An IX.), he is still called Citizen Fouché. On the 21st of September, 1804, Napoleon was at Mayence, preoccupied with the movements of some royalists. He speaks at length in a letter to Fouché of Rivière, an agent of the Count d'Artois, afterwards Duke de Rivière:

"I think it would not be difficult to make Rivière speak. A clever agent, who should begin by entering into the confidence of a woman who has been his mistress, and who has taken a great interest in him, might be bearer of a letter from the Count d'Artois, which would fulfil its object; and you need not be embarrassed by signature or seal. You could find a way to have this man speak to Rivière in his prison, and the most extravagant would be the best. One might suppose, for instance, that this man had enlisted in the corps which guards the prison. Have the first interview a day when he is on guard in his uniform; add 200 louis, which this individual would be commissioned to place in his hands, and give him to understand that there are ways of procuring for him as much as 2,000 louis. Rivière will probably first send money to his sister; you will see that she receives it. At the end of a fortnight, you will have, by this means, a correspondence between the Count d'Artois and Rivière, which should be very curious. In order to succeed, you must keep Rivière in prison, and not let him see his mistress."

In another letter, from Trèves (October 8, 1804), he tells Fouché to send "an agent to Vilna, who will follow the Count de Lille [Louis XVIII.], learn what he is doing there, and what relations he has with the governors and commanders of that country."

From Milan (May 22, 1805) he sends instructions as to the press:

"The *Gazette de France* is the paper which seems to me the best-written and in the best spirit. . . . It recalls no bad memory of the Revolution. . . . I have already announced to you my intention of naming a censor for the *Journal des Débats*. This paper seems to be going from bad to worse. . . . It would be a good thing to wrest it from the hand of Bertin, an agent of intrigue and of treason. If the thing cannot be done gently, prepare for it, nevertheless; for, at the first bad article in the *Débats*, I shall suppress it. . . . Let some article be written against the Princess D. . . ., who talks ridiculously and indecently at Rome. You know that she has lived long with a singer; that her diamonds, of which she talks so much, came from Potemkin, and are the price of her dishonor. . . . She wishes to be considered a *femme d'esprit*, she is acquainted with the Queen of Naples, and, what is quite as astonishing, with Madame de Staël."

From the Camp of Boulogne he writes on August 22, 1805, to Fouché:

"I hear that Gen. Lecourbe has returned to a country house which he has near Paris. I had sent orders to him to go to Franche-Comté. If he is still at his country house, have him arrested and taken to Franche-Comté by the gendarmes. . . . Let him know that the first time he comes within forty leagues of Paris I will have him arrested and transported. . . . I know the part he had in the conspiracy of Cadoudal. . . . He is a bad, dangerous man, who is on good terms with all my enemies."

The same day he says: "I don't know why you did not arrest the Baron de Viomesnil when he came to Bordeaux. You ought to have him imprisoned at once. You show a weakness in your administration which I cannot imagine." Orders are sent to exile to Dauphiné the ladies La Rochejacquelin, Zibot, and others, "who have given refuge to priests who refused to take the new oath." It would be too long and too tedious to mention all such orders of arrest. The general impression that remains is, that Napoleon was always urging Fouché to be more severe; his tone is always peremptory. Thus: "If M. Chénier [brother of Alfred Chénier and a dramatic poet] allows himself the slightest chatter, let him know that I will order him sent to the Island of Sainte-Marguerite. The time for pleasantry is past. Let him keep quiet; it is the only right he has. . . . Don't let that *coquine de* Madame de Staël approach Paris." Napoleon is never tired of abusing Madame de Staël.

"Among the thousand things," he writes from Finkenstein (April 19, 1807), "you will see by this letter what sort of a good Frenchwoman we have in her. She would do anything to see Prince Louis, our mortal enemy and the cause of the downfall of his monarchy. It is my intention that she shall never leave Geneva. Let her go, if she likes, with the friends of Prince Louis. To-day courting the great, to-morrow patriotic, democratic, one cannot repress one's indignation when he sees all the forms taken by this . . . and ugly besides. I don't tell you of all the projects formed by this ridiculous set, on the chance of my being killed; a minister of police ought to know all that. All I hear of this miserable woman shows me that I must leave her in her Coppet, with her Genevese and her Necker family."

In 1807 he writes from Rambouillet (September 7):

"You will issue an order of arrest against Kuhn, American Consul in Genoa, for wearing a cross of Malta given by the English and as agent of England. . . . This man, having received a foreign decoration, has ceased to be an American. I am vexed that you should have entered into communication with the United States Minister. My police know no ambassadors. I am master at home. If I suspect a man, I have him arrested. I would arrest the Ambassador of Austria if he entered into a conspiracy against the state."

It is very interesting to see with what care Napoleon examines the receipts and expenses of his Minister of Police; he will know all that is produced by the gaming-tables (they were allowed in Paris and the principal towns of France till 1830), by passports, by licenses for shooting, etc.; he examines all the documents of what the French call *comptabilité*.

"The budget," he says, "is my law; you must conform to it, as the finances, in all branches of the administration, are my first business. . . . The Minister of War does not give 50 francs to an officer without my signature. You must not have people receive 300,000 francs and think that they receive it from another than myself. It is opposed to good service and to the internal administration of the state. Lay before me this month the budget of 1808. Add some observations to each chapter, for I will have a serious budget. Retrench all useless expenses." (Fontainebleau, October 18, 1807.)

Napoleon was unwearied in scolding Fouché: "You do not exercise the police with the necessary activity and energy." He was constantly finding fault also with the papers, the *Journal des Débats* particularly, and made Fouché responsible for their stupidity. He insisted upon having every day a bulletin from the police. "I don't know why I no longer receive every day a police bulletin. See that I have it daily." (Bayonne, June 11, 1808.)

His ideas on the old families are well shown in the following letter:

"I learn that some families of *émigrés* avoid the conscription for their children, and keep them in culpable idleness. It is clear that the old and wealthy families which are not in my system are against it. I want you to have a list made of ten of these important families by department, and of fifty for Paris, letting me know the age, the fortune, the quality of each member. My intention is to issue a decree sending to the military school of Saint-Cyr all the young men belonging to these families between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. If any objection is made, your only answer will be that it is my *bon plaisir*. The coming generation must not suffer by the hatreds and small passions of the present generation."

The army seemed to him the crucible in which all the elements of French society were to be melted together; but it is certainly curious to see him adopt in his arbitrary measures the very words used under the old régime, "Car tel est notre bon plaisir."

Napoleon's discontent with Fouché becomes more and more visible as we advance in the correspondence: "You are not making the police of Paris. . . . Occupy yourself with the police, not with affairs which do not concern your ministry." "I invite you to leave politics aside and to let me know frequently what is going on in the departments. What I have just told you I ought to have learned from you. I attach importance to such facts, not to vagaries on Russia and Prussia." We come now to the climax. On July 1, 1810, Napoleon sent from Saint-Cloud to Fouché a note thus conceived: "Monsieur le Duc d'Otrante: Your services can no longer satisfy me. It is proper that you should be off in twenty-four hours, to remain in your *sénatorerie*. This letter having no other object, I pray God that he have you in his holy keeping." Among the reasons for Fouché's dismissal was his interference with the affairs of Lucien Bonaparte, as well as his relations with the great army contractor Ouvrard. Napoleon suspected Ouvrard of having communication with England and had him arrested. He accused Fouché of being more his brother's minister than his own. At the first moment when he appointed Fouché Governor of Rome, he said to his brother, the King of Westphalia, and to his Arch-Chancellor, "I will never replace that man; he has his defects, but he

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is the only statesman I have had." The decree was cancelled, however, when Napoleon claimed from Fouché all the letters which he had written to him during his ministry. Fouché answered that he had destroyed them; his papers were searched, but nothing of importance was found.

I have given extracts from this correspondence, indicative of the character of the two volumes published by M. Lecestre. These volumes are a mine which is not easily exhausted. Fouché reappears in them during the Hundred Days, as Minister of the General Police. The tone of the notes sent to him by the Emperor is quite different; they are short, cold, and polite. Napoleon had need then of Fouché, and did not feel as strong himself as in old times.

From a psychological point of view, it would be interesting to follow, in its developments, the correspondence of Napoleon with Talleyrand, the man who played in the diplomacy as important a part as Fouché in the police of the Empire. Napoleon said at St. Helena that they had as much to do with his downfall as his enemies; he called them traitors. True, he had covered them with honors, but he had always made them pay dearly for these, and had never concealed his contempt for them.

THE SCHOOLS OF ARCHÆOLOGY AT ATHENS.—IV.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND CLASSICAL STUDIES.*

In spite of the evidence to the contrary which the existence of the great British Museum justly may be supposed to offer, it is nevertheless true that the modern science of archæology has been long in securing a foothold in Great Britain. During the last century and the greater part of this, the scholars of Great Britain have busied themselves with the discussion of the text of the Greek classics, the study of Greek grammar, and other cognate branches; but archæology, the great verifier and vivifier of the written word, was uncultivated except by a few, whose names are still held in honor. In Great Britain, the traditional methods of an old-fashioned scholarship have been tenacious of life, and to this day the flavor and fragrance of the olden time still clings to British soil and influences British thought. I remember the astonishment and incredulity with which, only eleven years ago, an English professor of Greek, who has gained renown by his admirable translations of Xenophon, received from me the startling news that in America all boys were taught to read Greek with the accents. I well remember, too, my own amazement at the discovery, some fourteen years ago, that the holder of the Oxford travelling studentship to Asia Minor was actually afraid to give to his articles titles that would at once indicate the archæological trend of his work, lest such departure from the classical traditions of Britain might give offence in academic circles at home. To be sure, such archæologists as Sir Charles Newton and a few others had long been working in honored isolation in England, and plans for a British School at Athens had been discussed for several years, but still it is, perhaps, not incorrect to say that the founding of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens marked an era in archæological endeavor in Great Britain as well as in America. Certainly it aroused a feeling of generous rivalry in the breasts of the friends of archæology in the dear old islands, which, with their classical traditions, learned leisure, and great wealth, might certainly hope to emulate the example of the transatlantic nation of yesterday, if not that of France and Germany, countries in which archæology had been cultivated as a science for more than fifty years. Indeed, when Mr. Goodwin was returning from Athens, after having piloted our School through the first year of its existence, matters had already progressed so far that he could be present at a meeting held in Marlborough House, on June 25, 1883, under the presidency of the Prince of Wales, to consider the question of the establishment at Athens of a British School of Archæology and Classical Studies.

About thirty of the leading scholars and statesmen of England took part in that meeting, at which a resolution was passed avouching the expediency of establishing such a school. At the same time the scholars composing the meeting defined the object of the School, the duties of the Director, the conditions of membership in it, and moved a subscription for the general purpose. The sum of $20,000 was subscribed, and the executive committee decided to expend $15,000 of it in erecting a suitable building upon the large plot of ground that had just been offered by the Greek Government to the promoters of the enterprise. The remaining $5,000 was reserved for the purpose of providing a library of reference. This plot of land, something less than two acres in extent, lay on the southeastern slope of Mount Lycabettus, and adjoined the plot of similar size which the next year was given to our School. The land was conveyed to the trustees of the British School on November 3, 1884, and work was begun at once. The plans of the building were drawn by Mr. F. C. Penrose, the distinguished architect, who became the first director of the School, and the School was actually founded with no director, no students, and no money wherewith to pay the salary of the director. As has been pointed out in the paper on the American School, this courageous action of the British stimulated interest in America, and, thanks to it, a proud building, floating the American flag, has long stood by the side of the English institution.

The aim of our School is not so much splendid achievements with the mattock and the spade as it is to educate a body of young Americans who may be able to pass on to others the influence of their sojourn in Greece. On the contrary, one of the main objects of the British School is the excavation of ancient sites, or, to use the language of the rules and regulations:

"The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archæology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic. Besides being a School of Archæology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School."

The British School was opened in November, 1886, by Mr. Penrose, who years before had made himself famous by his examinations of the Parthenon, and but recently had conducted excavations on the site of the Olympieion. The British School is therefore the junior of the American School by four years. In 1887 Mr. Penrose was succeeded in the directorship by Mr. E. A. Gardner, the first student who ever attended the School. Mr. Gardner guided the fortunes of the School for eight years, and with success, in spite of the ever-present lack of money, for during the first nine years of the existence of the School its normal income had been only $2,500, of which annual sum $500 was contributed by the University of Oxford, $500 by the Hellenic Society, and $500 by Mr. Walter Leaf, renowned the world over for his brilliant studies in Homer. The remaining $1,000 was made up by about eighty persons, who subscribed annual sums ranging from $5 to $50. This was disheartening, for the School owed its precarious support chiefly to the liberality of a few lofty-minded men, and as yet the *national* sentiment of Britain had not been aroused. And yet the School had conducted important excavations in several places—in Cyprus, which yielded inscriptions and works of art of various styles and periods; at Megalopolis, which yielded results of unique interest, especially as shedding light upon the theatre-question; at Alexandria, in Egypt, where the results were important, though negative, inasmuch as excavations at Alexandria were proved to be impracticable because of the depth of the soil and the bad condition of what is preserved beneath it. Besides these excavations, valuable contributions had been made to ancient topography in Cyprus, Aetolia, and Arcadia; light had been thrown upon many problems in the development of ancient art by the cleaning and sorting of the bronzes found during the course of the excavations on the Acropolis, and the remains of Byzantine art that were scattered throughout the length and breadth of Greece had been studied and illustrated.

But the close of Mr. Gardner's successful conduct of the School in the face of serious discouragements marked a turning-point in its history, for in June, 1895, a memorial was presented simultaneously to the First Lord of the Treasury and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, praying that an annual grant of $2,500 be made to the School from the public funds. This memorial was signed by almost all the scholars and dignitaries of the United Kingdom; perhaps so many honored names were never before attached to so simple a petition. The Government was favorably impressed by the memorial, and one of the last acts of Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt, before their resignation, was to record a Treasury minute recommending that the grant be made from the fund set apart for scientific investigations. The present Lords of the Treasury confirmed the minute of the outgoing Ministry, making the grant for five years beginning with 1897, and there is every reason to hope that at the end of the five years the grant will be renewed, in the case of efficient work during that period.

On July 9, 1895, a meeting in the interest of the School was held in St. James's Palace, under the presidency of the Prince of Wales. Speeches in enthusiastic support of the School were made by the Prince of

*Most of the facts contained in this paper have been gleaned from the 'Annual of the British School at Athens,' No. 1, Session of 1894-5.

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Wales, Mr. Leaf, Mr. Macmillan, the Duke of Sparta, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Prof. Jebb, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Egerton (H. B. M. Minister at Athens), Lord Herschell, and Dr. Magrath, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. At this meeting it was resolved "that the British School at Athens has already done excellent work during the nine years of its existence, and is well deserving of increased support," and, secondly, "that this meeting pledges itself to use every effort to place the School upon a sound financial basis, so that in point of dignity and efficiency it may worthily represent this country among the other foreign institutes in Athens." As a result of this meeting, annual subscriptions to the amount of $1,875 were promised, mostly for periods of five years, and donations were received to the amount of $7,300. By reason of all these agencies the present income of the School is about $6,000 a year, of which a considerable part was secured for five years, beginning with 1895. The value of the Treasury grant must not be measured by its amount, but by what it implied: that the work of the School was important enough to the national life of Great Britain to justify encouragement by the State. Furthermore, it must be a source of gratification to every one to know that this verdict in regard to the value of the work of the School has been passed by both political parties, so that the future existence of the School seems to be assured, though, of course, substantial aid will be needed continually in order to maintain it in a permanent state of efficiency.

In 1895, Mr. Cecil H. Smith, assistant in the British Museum in the department of classical antiquities, was elected director for the period of two years, the British Museum being unwilling to lend him for a longer time. The period of his incumbency has just expired, and he is to be succeeded by Mr. D. G. Hogarth, who has distinguished himself by archæological work in Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Egypt. In the last country he was associated with Flinders Petrie, and conducted the excavations at Alexandria, with the assistance of two members of the British School, Messrs. Benson and Bevan. During his directorship Mr. Smith conducted excavations in the island of Melos and at Athens, where he sought for the site of the Cynosarges, and, as is claimed, with success. Last fall he was fortunate enough to discover a remarkable replica of the Parthenos at Patras. During his incumbency the borders of the British School have been enlarged materially by the erection of an additional building upon the grounds of the School. The new building is intended to be a kind of club-house, in which the students may room and board. Such a club-house is much needed by our School, also, for both Schools are situated so far from the centre of the city and the decent restaurants that a vast deal of precious time is lost by the students simply in travelling back and forth from the School for their meals. The result is that those students who room down town, at a distance of a mile or more from the School, are averse to making more than one trip a day to the School library, especially in warm weather, when the climb of a mile up hill in the hottest part of the day is peculiarly distressing, as well as disastrous to efficient work. This is much to be deplored, for the students would be immeasurably the gainers if all of them could be accommodated in a School building where they could have their private apartments and get wholesome meals besides. They could then work in the library both by day and by night, so that the efficiency and the amount of work done by them would be increased almost by half.

In 1895, after nine years of the British School's existence, its *first* 'Annual' was issued. It contains the report of the managing committee, the proceedings of meetings held in support of the School, and certain supplementary matter consisting of papers read at the meetings of the School, or otherwise illustrating its work. Up to date no second volume has appeared, although in the prefatory note to the first volume its continuance as a *periodical* was promised. This Annual is not to be in any way a rival of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, seeing that the more elaborate papers by members of the School will continue to be published in the *Journal*, whereas the Annual is to be the repository for more popular accounts of travel or research, so that the two periodicals will supplement one another.

The number of students who have attended the British School is about forty-five, though I have no means at hand of ascertaining the exact number. Upon their return to England all have obtained desirable and influential positions, and it can be predicted with safety that they will be indefatigable workers in the interest of the School, that it may take rank along with its sister schools of archæology.

Besides the four Schools that have been discussed in the preceding papers, there are other archæological agencies of first-class importance at work at Athens. As a preliminary to the founding of a School of Archæology, Austria for several years has had in successful operation an Archæological Mission under the charge of Drs. Reichel and Wilhelm, Privatdocenten in the University of Vienna. They are the peers of any archæologists in Athens, and their lectures are downright features of the archæological year. Wilhelm's lectures on the science of epigraphy in the presence of the original stones in the Epigraphical Museum are attended by the members of the American School almost in a body.

Another archæological agency of like importance is the Greek Archæological Society, whose work of excavation during the past year has been made known to your readers. Gerhard visited Greece in 1837, just eight years after the founding of the Institute of Archæological Correspondence in Rome. Full of enthusiasm for archæology, and inspired by the belief that an institution in Greece somewhat similar to the one in Rome would do wonders in the way of preserving the precious remains of the past that still existed on Greek soil, he suggested to the native and foreign scholars of Greece the necessity of creating a society for the purpose. The Greek Archæological Society, the result of Gerhard's timely suggestion, has done distinguished work during all these years, both by its epoch-making excavations and by preserving the finds in museums and otherwise. Though the Archæological Society is not a school of archæology, yet its members are most important factors in the archæological life of Athens, for they read papers upon archæological subjects both before the German and French Schools, and especially before the Parnassos Society. Indeed, some of the papers by Greek scholars were among the most important read at Athens last winter. As the result of all these agencies, the American student at Athens is actually in danger of surfeit because of the superabundant feast that is spread before him. He is a welcome guest at the exercises of all the Schools, of the Austrian Mission, and of the Parnassos Society, so that, if he can understand French, German, and Greek, he must of necessity make rapid strides in the acquisition of a knowledge of archæology. Indeed, for the budding professor of Greek, residence at Athens for a year or more is not merely a necessity, but a most precious privilege which no man can afford to deny himself.

Unfortunately our School at Athens is too little known throughout the country at large, especially among the students of our universities and colleges. There are but few candidates for the two fellowships offered by the School, though this may be due to a consciousness of inability to stand the examinations for a fellowship. The fellowships pay $600 a year, and are open to any American. They cannot be had for the asking, however, but only by passing successfully a series of examinations upon Modern Greek, the Elements of Greek Epigraphy, the Introduction to Greek Archæology, the Principles of Greek Architecture, the History of Greek Sculpture, the Introduction to the Study of Greek Vases, Pausanias, and the Monuments and Topography of Ancient Athens. The examinations cover a large field, it is true, but they require only such knowledge as is necessary for the full enjoyment of the privileges of a residence at the American School. It must be noted that these examinations are intended solely for those who aspire to the honor of a fellowship in the school—that is, to the honor of being leaders in the School. Simple *membership* in the School is accorded to the graduates of the subscribing colleges as their right, but it must not be forgotten that graduates of all reputable colleges in America may become members simply by application to Prof. John Williams White, Cambridge, Mass., or to Prof. Thomas Day Seymour, New Haven, Conn., who will gain for them the approval of the Committee. Such approval is cordially given, because the object of the School is to inspire as many souls as possible. The same gentlemen will furnish applicants with copies of the Annual Report, which contains all information necessary to the prospective student.

The examinations for the fellowships are held on the same day in May at any or all of the contributing colleges, and, for the convenience of Americans studying abroad, in Berlin and Athens. The successful candidates may compete for the prize as often as they wish, and the chances are that they can easily win it a second or a third time.

J. R. S. Sterrett.

Correspondence.

THE PATRIOTIC VIRUS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In commenting on a story of Mr. Owen Wister's in the August number of *Harper's*, you remark that you "cannot help suspecting that he is a victim to the pseudo-patriotic virus which is doing so much to poison letters."

Cannot a virus very like that which you

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suspect in Mr. Wister's tales be found far earlier in American literature — in the 'Sketch-Book,' for example, in 'English Traits,' and, especially, in the second series of the 'Biglow Papers'? It is true that the *Nation* was not in existence when Irving and Emerson and Lowell fell victims to this bubonic plague of "pseudo-patriotism," as you call it; but have you not been derelict to your duty in failing to denounce similar symptoms visible in the later writings of Col. Higginson, of Mr. Warner, and of Mr. Howells? And is it too late now to do anything to put down the plague and save American literature? Perhaps the *Nation* could issue a call for a meeting to form a society to combat the evil—an active organization on the model of the Anti-Vaccination League. BRANDER MATTHEWS.

THE CATSKILLS, August 16, 1897.

[We are more fearful that we have been derelict in Prof. Matthews's own case, though he modestly forbears to press it. If so, he has our apologies.—ED. NATION.]

NO MEDIUM FOR SERIOUS ARTICLES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your number of July 29 your correspondent "Prexie" notices the dearth of articles of special literary scholarship in the periodicals of to-day; and in the reply of "Professor," August 12, the truth of this is implied. Neither of these correspondents remarks how difficult it is to find admission for such papers to-day, when the American magazines, even those whose literary quality has been best maintained, are distinctly deprecating any articles which do not relate to subjects of general current interest. Except in these periodicals, the results of special research can hardly be published, as your correspondent desires, "in forms widely intelligible to thoughtful educated men and women"; for book-making requires much time and an accumulation of material, and, what is still more serious to the needy scholar, it ordinarily brings small and tardy remuneration.

Perhaps when the reading public is satiated with the profuse illustrations and short stories which now pervade our magazines, there may again be room and encouragement for less volatile writing. Until then it is scarcely fair to infer from the dearth of them that discussions at once serious and interesting upon scholarly subjects are among the lost arts. E. L.

AUGUST 17, 1897.

Notes.

Messrs. Putnam have just brought out the fourth volume of the important 'Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,' covering the period 1804-1806. We shall report upon it in due course. The editor, Dr. Charles R. King, announces to subscribers that his material surpasses his calculations, and will overrun the five volumes contemplated in the contract. Nevertheless, he will supply the sixth volume without additional charge to all who subscribed before July 1, 1897, while all future subscribers must pay thirty dollars instead of twenty-five for the complete work.

The same firm give notice that they will include in their precious series of "Writings of the Fathers of the Republic" the works of Samuel Adams, now collected for the first time, and to be edited by Dr. Harry Alonzo Cushing of the Department of History of Columbia University. The Messrs. Putnam would be glad to correspond with the possessors of material pertinent to this enterprise.

Frederick A. Stokes Co. have under way Lord Lytton's 'Lucile,' illustrated after water-colors by Madeleine Lemaire; 'The Love Affairs of Some Famous Men,' by the Rev. E. J. Hardy; 'The Son of the Tsar,' an historical novel, by James Graham; 'Lying Prophets,' by Eden Phillpotts; and a collection of Fairy Tales by Thomas Dunn English, illustrated by Miss Elizabeth S. Tucker.

Facsimiles of autograph letters by Tennyson, Browning, Lowell, Holmes, Dean Stanley, and other celebrities will adorn Dean Farrar's 'Men I Have Known,' to be published in October by T. Y. Crowell & Co., who have also in hand an English translation of an historical novel, 'The Pharaoh,' from the Polish of Bolislaw Prus (Alexander Glowacki).

L. C. Page & Co., Boston, publish immediately 'The Court of Nideck,' adapted from the French of Erckmann-Chatrian by Ralph Browning Fiske, and illustrated by Victor A. Searles.

Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, have acquired the sole right to issue the writings of Walt Whitman, and will bring out greatly improved editions of the 'Leaves of Grass' and of the 'Complete Prose Works' early in the autumn—the latter with illustrations.

'From September to June with Nature'—that is, with Nature during the primary school year—by Miss M. L. Warren, is in the press of D. C. Heath & Co. It will be illustrated.

'A Batch of Golfing Papers,' by Andrew Lang, is announced by M. F. Mansfield, No. 22 East Sixteenth Street.

Mrs. Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer has in preparation for A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 'Spain in the Nineteenth Century.'

In the momentary pause in book production, we may glance at the reprints which have been accumulating on our shelves. The two 'Jungle Books' of Rudyard Kipling carry on the Scribners' beautiful uniform edition of this author's works, and combine a weird and stirring text with excellent specimens of the elder Kipling's designs in relief. From Macmillan we have, in their series of standard novels of the first half of the present century, Marryat's 'Snarleyyow,' with a good introduction by David Hannay, who extenuates the profuse brutality of incident on the ground of the unreality of the characters. He might have added that the childish mind is guarded from the effects of this brutality by the dominating humor of the story. The same firm sends us, in connection with J. M. Dent & Co., London, two more volumes of the translation of Balzac edited by George Saintsbury, viz., 'Lost Illusions' and 'A Distinguished Provincial at Paris,' both Englished by Ellen Marriage. The style of this edition is very elegant, and so on an humbler scale is that of Dent's "School for Scandal" (in the pocket "Temple Dramatists") and Boswell's Johnson, to fill six of the small numbers of the "Temple Classics" over which Mr. Israel Gollancz presides. This fresh symptom of the Johnsonian revival for which Dr. Birkbeck Hill has done so much, is based on the sixth edition of Boswell, and is annotated by Mr. Arnold Glover.

The Harpers' new edition of their 'Georgia Scenes' bears the copyright date of 1840, and though the ante-bellum Southern literary humor is rather painful reading, the truthfulness of these sketches gives them an historical value that justifies their revival. Much of what is depicted is coarse, not a little is cruel, but the authors are not blind to this. The hunting and racing, shooting and "gander-pulling" scenes were but a part of the neighborhood sports of a rural community. The running down of a negro was a common diversion, and the lynching so prevalent to-day is partly maintained by the gratification it affords of the love of excitement in a crowd. There is nothing of this complexion in these pages, but the chapter with the unpromising heading, "A Mother and her Child," throws a noticeable side-light on the manners of domestic slavery.

The world was much slower in accepting Richard Wagner as a poet than as a musician. Indeed, the principal cause of prolonged misunderstandings was that the critics, in spite of his essays and protests, persisted in treating him simply as a composer, usually sneering at his poems, which were caviare to them because so different from all previous opera texts. But of late a change has ensued, and Wagner's poetry is now receiving almost as much attention as his scores. Within the last few years several writers have attempted to show that his opera-poems are capable of being put into the form of prose tales, like those based on Shakspere's plays. The latest of these is entitled 'The Story of the Rhinegold' (Harpers), and was written by Miss Anna Alice Chapin, a girl of only seventeen years, though no one would suspect her youth from her style or the quality of her work. Indeed, her book is the best of its kind yet issued. It shows no trace of being based on operatic texts, and reads as naturally as a fairy story invented as such. It is intended for young readers, and Miss Chapin has succeeded, partly in the text, partly in an introductory chapter, in clearing up the obscure points. In spite of the narrow title, the whole Nibelung tetralogy is included, and Miss Chapin has had the happy thought of dividing each drama into chapters and giving them special names: The Rhine Maidens, The Giants, Nibelheim, The Rainbow Bridge, etc. There are also a dozen full-page illustrations, and some of the more important motives are given in musical type.

The 'Complete Hoyle,' by R. F. Foster (Frederick A. Stokes Co.), declares itself to be an enclyclopædia of all the indoor games played at the present day. As 500 of its 600 pages are devoted to games at cards, the claim may not be extravagant so far as these are concerned. The descriptions of the games are lucid, and as the print of the book, although close, is clear, the manual seems well adapted for its purpose. That it is "the only entirely original book on games that has appeared for 150 years," is a proposition that we shall not attempt to criticise.

Mr. William Gow examines the trade relations of England with her colonies in a pamphlet entitled 'A British Imperial Customs Union' (Edinburgh: David Douglas).

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Recent events indicate that no such customs union will be formed, and the scheme suggested by Mr. Gow is therefore not a matter of practical interest. It is, however, a very rational and very ingenious scheme, and as the pamphlet contains also some valuable tables showing the main features of the commerce with the colonies and the duties levied thereon, it deserves preservation.

A portfolio containing sixteen compositions by Clara von Rappard has just been brought out by F. Bruckmann's Verlagsanstalt in Munich, and will soon be accessible to art-lovers in America (New York: George Busse). The artist's name has been favorably known for some years past, her landscapes, portraits, and illustrative compositions, exhibited in the Salon, at the Royal Academy, at Berlin, Munich, and elsewhere, having almost universally won the praise of the critics. Her "Jungfrau in Morning Twilight" will be remembered by visitors to the Woman's Building at the World's Fair. The present collection of etchings, lithographs, and heliotypes—"Studien und Phantasieen" is its title—shows in an eminent degree the peculiar genius of the gifted artist. In some of her conceptions a powerful and sombre imagination, in others a mystic-mythological element, is very strong. A lighter mood characterizes "By the Fireside," and "Gaudeamus," while a delightful humor reveals itself in "Mutual Criticism"—a young mondaine lorgnetting a statue which seems to meet her supercilious glance with an inimitable look of disdain. The strong, pensive faces in the "Sibyls," and also the symbolic head in "Bad Weather," betray the skilled portraitist.

The latest series of 'La Vie et les Livres' (Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.), is the fourth collection of the *Temps* articles published weekly by the gentle and elegant critic Gaston Deschamps. He has divided the present volume into four parts, according to the character of the works reviewed in each. The last contains the most charming pages of the volume, for it deals largely with Greece, a country which has always awakened the writer's enthusiasm. If, out of the whole work, one were to draw any conclusion concerning M. Deschamps's likes and dislikes, it would be, in the first place, that he believes in breadth of culture rather than in the mandarin excess of erudition, though he is not slow to acknowledge the services to knowledge rendered by the patient digger in forgotten archives or even well-known texts. The second would be that this same love of broad culture should mark the scholastic and academic programmes of France. He is constantly inveighing against the stunting effects of the present system and calling for a change. The third would be that he is not afraid of the reproach of lack of patriotism, as recklessly and unjustly launched in France as with us against all those whose love of country is neither blatant nor otherwise offensive. But, after all, is there very much use in republishing newspaper articles? If M. Deschamps were to give us, instead of these warmed-up reviews, a good and well-connected volume of essays on modern literature, the result would be infinitely more profitable both to himself and us. The newspaper article is very seldom good enough to be reprinted, and such a collection as that of 'La Vie et les Livres' comes perilously near being light literature.

There is absolutely no difference in the case of M. Brisson's work, which is, indeed, of the very lightest. He also publishes a new volume, the third in his series of 'Portraits Intimes' (Colin). It is devoted to interviews of prominent persons in various walks of life, from the great writer, or say the known writer, to the beer-garden singer. If anything can be more essentially local and ephemeral than most of the interviews recorded in this volume, it would be hard to name it. They may possess a certain interest for a certain portion of the Parisian public, but they cannot interest any one else. Here and there a crumb of information is met with: one about Victor Hugo, which is valuable as a proof that the venomous Biré, who lays so much stress on his accuracy as distinguished especially from the poet's inaccuracy, has not always got at the facts; another about Musset and his way of looking on the characters in his plays; and still another about George Sand. But they are only crumbs, and there are only three of them.

A series of articles that were well worth reprinting is found in 'Sur la Côte,' by Charles Le Goffic (Colin). They appeared originally in the *Revue Bleue*, and are delightful and interesting reading. To the lovers of Loti they will commend themselves on account of the story of the original "Frère Yves," whom, however, M. Le Goffic did not meet in the flesh. But the whole book is full of the breath of the salt sea, and takes us into the homes, the boats, the minds themselves of the men of the shore. There are strong and charming descriptions of seascapes, though without the wealth of adjectives in which Clark Russell delights, being all the better for that. There are tales of the old wrecking days, perhaps not so very old; tales of the Icelandic fishing and of the times when privateering was in vogue; reminiscences of the whaling cruises, now wholly abandoned, and common-sense remarks on the way to treat sailors.

A rare and noteworthy patriotism is that which seeks to enrich the literature of a nation. A wealthy Greek of Odessa, Gregor Maraslis, has undertaken to give to his countrymen the masterpieces of the historical, philological, archæological, and philosophical literature of other countries by means of the best possible translations. This work has been intrusted to professors of the University and other scholars, and already parts of Curtius's 'Greek History' and Macaulay's 'History of England' have appeared. Among works in preparation is Prof. Whitney's 'Life and Growth of Language.' The Maraslis library is printed at Athens and is issued in monthly parts of one hundred and sixty large octavo pages, at a very low price.

It is gratifying to learn that the fund which is to maintain the Child Memorial Library at Harvard, for the benefit of the English Department, has nearly reached the sum of eleven thousand dollars. The Library itself has received, in addition, two MSS. and more than three hundred volumes, with which has been merged the special library of the English Department. A start is, therefore, made with some 1,000 volumes. Handsome bookplates have been engraved to mark the collection and to acknowledge gifts.

—It is well known that on our northern frontier no revenue has been reaped from tariffs. The salaries of custom-house officers have eaten up all the duties they have taken in. Had those officials covered into the Treasury what they have received in the way of bribes or hush-money the result would have been otherwise. Still greater gains would have accrued to the public had no dutiable goods eluded the vigilance of frontier guards. These facts first become clear to many Americans when they are shopping in Montreal. They scruple to buy because of the exactions they must pay in carrying purchases home, and are assured by sellers that whatever they buy shall be delivered on the American side of the international boundary. It has always been thus and all along the line. Pike found it so in 1805 even up to the headwaters of the Mississippi. But the most curious light dawns on this matter from a long-forgotten manuscript at Mackinaw. The buildings of Astor in those headquarters of his fur trade are well preserved, and have become the John Jacob Astor Hotel. Among other heirlooms there may be seen the books of the company, and one folio of 200 pages is the letter-book of Ramsay Crooks, western autocrat of the enormous American Fur Co. This volume contains his correspondence for four years, from 1816 to 1820. The letters, still very legible, were copied by hand, the copying-press seeming to be unknown. Those to Astor, who was in fact the Company, are the longest, and give such an inside view of his strategy as it were idle to expect to get from any other source.

—In 1815 the Canadian Northwestern Fur Company were excluded from American territory, and their stock became so depreciated that they sold out their property to Astor at his own price. His bargain, however, did not prove so good as it had appeared, for a host of individual Canadians intercepted the most valuable furs on the way to his agents. He, therefore, by the advice of Crooks, undertook to shut out of the country all foreigners not in his own employ, and to secure from the President blank licenses for Indian traders and agents which he could fill out to suit himself. This "indulgence," as he terms it, he hoped to obtain by correspondence, but was taught better by Crooks, who wrote, "For God's sake, go to Washington unless you are very sure of obtaining what we want without making so disagreeable a journey." He went, but after all in vain. But Crooks had better success in Detroit, for on June 23, 1817, he wrote to Astor: "Governor Cass, although positively instructed to be guided by the orders of the War Department of last year in regard to the granting of licenses to foreigners, and having no directions from Secretary Graham to bestow any specific indulgence on your agents, has written Major Puthuff [in command in all the region around Mackinaw] to attend particularly to our wishes; and should he act as the discretionary nature of his orders will allow, he can serve our purpose almost as effectually as if foreigners had been excluded generally, and we had obtained the number of licenses in blank you at one time so confidently expected." Yet in his relations to Puthuff the course of Crooks did not run smooth. In fact there was no true love betwen them. Puthuff held that "corruption wins not more than honesty." Worse than all, Crooks found to his dismay that his agents throughout the wilderness of the West encountered rivals who undersold them at every point. The reason was plain: he had paid a heavy duty —they were smugglers one and all. His

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first campaign, though managed with great sagacity, turned out a losing business—a new experience for Crooks. Thereupon his casuistry was that of the saloon-keeper who says, "If I do not sell, others will." So Crooks wrote to Astor: "We must wind up our trade unless you can make arrangements with some London firm which will agree to furnish whatever we need to import, and to deliver the goods to us on our own territory." Crooks knew that such a contract could be easily consummated, since many such houses had made them for decades, opening a commercial underground railroad. The word "smuggle" was not used, but ere long the letters of Crooks were addressed to Mr. Astor in Europe—who had learned that no pen is so good as a personal interview—while the American Fur Company's enterprises thenceforth had free course and were glorified. This tale of truth has as plain a moral as any fable. The more protective a tariff, the more it tempts to immorality, to which it gives a semblance of justification.

—'The Bowdoin and Temple Papers' (Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, sixth series, vol. ix.) are far removed in spirit from the excited conditions which preceded and introduced the Revolution. For the most part they are cool and moderate communications between men of no uncertain position, some of English, some of American, birth, but all having that English outspokenness which expects to be taken at its word, and which is also ready to accept the integrity of a disputant. The "Sam Adams" note is conspicuously wanting here; there is, however, no uncertainty in the patriotism of Gov. Bowdoin. His letters and those of his son-in-law John Temple give the occasion of this volume, which otherwise would lack harmony and have small reason for being. Their letters are almost antiphonal in effect. Bowdoin was a high-minded man, distinctly an adherent of the American cause; the other, a gentleman after the standards of the century in which he lived and of the class to which he belonged, but, even to the present day, as is delicately intimated by one at least of the editors, not wholly purged from suspicion in connection with the famous Hutchinson Letters, over which he fought his duel with William Whately. Even in mental attainments the difference between the two men is wide; for while Temple confesses that he "never could write correctly," his father-in-law's breeding showed itself in his excellent but not brilliant style. Among their correspondents were Gen. Gage, George Grenville, Prof. John Winthrop, and William Bollan, and none of the letters in the volume are more important than Bollan's. Of particular interest are the communications to Temple from Thomas Whately, Grenville's private secretary, and afterwards Joint Secretary of the Treasury, a Lord of Trade, and then Under-Secretary of State. With other good advice to the hot-headed Temple, his friend in London was candid enough to say: "To men in office nothing is of more consequence than the utmost temperance of language." Yet, writing this, Whately lived to become a target for the uncomplacent wit of Junius. There follow some interesting letters regarding a proposed expedition to Lake Superior in 1769 to observe the transit of Venus; one from Mauduit mentioning his share in the presentation of the "Pietas et Gratulatio" to George III.; a careful statement by Bowdoin to Bollan of the "Boston Massacre," with a letter by Samuel, Viscount Hood on the same affair.

—The earlier portion of the volume is of the first value. Both sides of the pre-Revolutionary irritations are here discussed with perfect candor, and (to quote the words of Judge Mellen Chamberlain which appear in the latest proceedings of this Society) in the mood of "a dozen intelligent gentlemen in a quiet room—not in a representatives' chamber with galleries full of their constituents—who were desirous of reaching conclusions dishonorable to neither, but advantageous to both parties." The closing papers touch upon the attempted extrication of Temple from any disgrace in connection with the Hutchinson Letters. According to his own affirmation, made here to Franklin, "they were obtained in an honorable way"; but the situation seems not altered. The imputation of invading the privacy of correspondence still lies at the door of Franklin and Temple. Surely the editor would have been wise to print, instead of the rough draught here given (p. 480), the fair copy, dated a day later, of Temple's letter to the General Court of Massachusetts, the original of which is in the Boston Athenæum. A brief tabulation of the letters under the names of the writers would have been a distinct convenience. Eccentricities of editing are rare in the publications of this Society, and therefore we are the more constrained to notice that the transcription, throughout a number of pages, of the contracted "the" of manuscript into the printed "ye" is at variance, not only with the usual practice of the Society, and with the published view of its President, but even with the rest of this volume.

—The late Johannes Brahms detested letter-writing more even than Chopin, of whom it was said that, rather than write a note, he would take a cab and drive from one end of Paris to the other to deliver his message. Nevertheless, there is a considerable number of Chopin letters, whereas of Brahms's there are hardly any. Some years ago La Mara (Marie Lipsius) published a volume of *'Kunstlerbriefe,' containing specimens of* letters by eminent composers with their autograph signatures. In some way or other she managed to secure a few of Brahms's letters, but was conscientious enough to ask his permission to print them. He refused it, but, by way of atonement, wrote her a letter of some length with permission to print that. In this letter he took occasion to say that no one could possibly do him a worse turn than by publishing his letters, because he never wrote any except unwillingly and in haste. Nevertheless, his most intimate friend, Dr. Hanslick, has lately printed in several numbers of the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* his reminiscences of Brahms, interweaving with them a dozen or more Brahms letters written at various intervals, beginning in 1863. In one of these Brahms makes a very sensible suggestion regarding complete editions of the composers: "You know my old favorite wish, that the so-called complete works of our masters—even those of the first rank and certainly those of the second—should not be printed too complete, but that, on the other hand, absolutely complete copies of them should be made for the libraries. You know how eager I have always been to come across their unprinted works. But of many of my favorite composers I do not wish to see everything printed." In September, 1878, Brahms had been invited to attend a music festival at Hamburg at which one of his symphonies was to be produced. The committee was unable to get a definite answer from him, whereupon it appealed to Hanslick, asking him to serve as intermediary. But Brahms wrote to his friend that, in spite of his questions, not a word had been said to him about honorarium or travelling expenses, which was rather hard on a poor musician. He also expressed a fear that unless Joachim conducted his symphony it would go wretchedly. Nevertheless, he went to Hamburg, conducted the symphony himself, and received a great ovation. In several of the letters Brahms expresses his pleasure at the cordial letters Hanslick had written to him praising some of his new pieces as they appeared. He was particularly pleased with the praise bestowed on the song "Vergebliches Ständchen": "This time you have hit the bull's-eye! For that one song I myself would give all the others, and the W.-album in addition." In various short notes complimentary references are made to Goetz, Dvorák, Reinhold, Mandizewsky, Novak, and especially Perger, whose chamber music he repeatedly lauds in the strongest terms. There is also a slight sneer at Bruckner, but such personal references, complimentary or otherwise, are rare in his letters. In one of his notes from Hamburg he expresses great delight because Hans von Bülow, "who never lacks happy thoughts," had planned to close a music festival with three Strauss waltzes.

—It must be admitted that most of Brahms's letters are as dry as the dryest of his compositions. Much more interesting are Hanslick's reminiscences. It appears from these that Brahms, while he wrote most of his works in Vienna, never had more than one pupil—Frau Nenda-Bernstein—during all the years he lived there. Twice he was director of musical societies, but only three years altogether. Regarding the Hungarian Dances, which first established Brahms's popularity, Hanslick reveals the interesting fact that not all of them are *mere arrangements of national melodies*, but that two of them are of Brahms's own invention. He does not state which. Touching these dances Brahms wrote: "You know that, for an exception, these pieces have amused me too somewhat." Regarding Brahms's letters Hanslick says that he wrote very rapidly and with a quill. Place and date are usually missing, and in lieu of his full name he always signed himself J. Br., partly as a defensive measure against autograph hunters. When personally appealed to for an autograph, he usually ruled five irregular lines, scribbled two or three bars of music, and put his name under it. So little faith had he in his letter-writing faculty that whenever he had an official note of importance to write he always submitted a sketch of it to Hanslick. He was chary, too, of letters written to himself. When Bülow's widow published her late husband's correspondence, knowing that Brahms had some enthusiastic letters from him, she begged him to let her have copies for her book, whereupon Brahms selected a few short and formal notes, intending to submit those, but Hanslick interposed and induced him to send the others, in justice to Bülow.

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BELLAMY'S UTOPIA.

Equality. By Edward Bellamy. D. Appleton & Co. 1897.

We have read Mr. Bellamy's 'Equality' with a good deal of interest and entertainment, though we fear it will not have the run of the story of which it is the sequel. 'Looking Backward' was a clever piece of literary work, which had some of the interest of a novel, besides the fascination of all ingenious speculation about the future of the world. In the author's present venture he has undertaken a reply to the critics of the other, and 'Equality' is therefore a somewhat controversial explanation of his social system or Utopia. The characters are the same as in 'Looking Backward,' Julian West, Edith Leete, and Dr. Leete, and the time is still the year 2000; but the book is not a novel; it is a philosophical essay in the form of dialogue and exposition, designed to work out the author's coöperative substitute for the present industrial and political system, and show it in detail. This is, for any idealist, an attempt full of danger, but especially so in a socialistic book. If Mr. Bellamy's second attempt does not have the effect of destroying much of the work accomplished by 'Looking Backward,' we shall be forced to consider that socialist delusions have obtained a stronger hold on the world than we had ever supposed possible.

The book is rightly called 'Equality,' for it is an attempt to solve the problems of life by means of an elaborate application of a doctrine represented by that phrase. The fundamental idea underlying it is that an artificial inequality produces all the evils of life, and enables capital to oppress labor, the rich to harry the poor, and so on. Mr. Bellamy has inherited this idea from the doctrinaires of a hundred years ago, but he insists that their application of it, while it had the effect of removing many an ancient abuse and privilege, has been far from introducing any actual equality of condition among mankind. It has, in fact, resulted in the present régime of competition, which, in his opinion, aggravates the inequalities of life. The obvious deduction from this view is that our forefathers did not go far enough. Had they introduced an absolute equality of condition, and found the means of preventing any lapses from it, the problem would have been solved. This means is furnished by coöperative socialism. The State takes all the property and means of production, making each individual a shareholder on the coöperative plan, allots to him the work he is to do, and lets him have his share of the product. There are no profits, each individual receiving his aliquot share from time to time. No one can accumulate, and hence no one can become rich; inequality is a thing of the past.

Two very serious objections have been urged against such a scheme for the regeneration of mankind: one, that inequality is at bottom not the result of artificial arrangements, but is a fundamental fact in human life, which no amount of human arrangement will ever do away with; the other is that, at the best, the scheme merely results in leaving things where they were. The total wealth of the world is not affected by changing the ownership and distribution of it; and if the total product is divided by the number of souls in any community, a very simple calculation shows that each one of the poor would be little better off than he is now, while the well-to-do would be all reduced to poverty. Economists have shown over and over again that socialistic theories all rest on the assumption of the existence somewhere of an enormous fund of wealth, which, if we could only get at it, would make us all comfortable for life. The novelty of Mr. Bellamy's position as a Socialist is that he does not pass this entirely over, but attempts to meet and overcome the objections raised. The first he meets with a flat denial, and the second with the assertion that there is such a fund, and that if we would look about us we should see it.

What he has to say on these two points is fully set forth in chapter xiii. (pp. 88, 89). The main factor in the production of wealth, Dr. Leete explains to Julian West, is the machinery of associated labor and exchange. "The element in the total industrial product which is due to the social organism is represented by the difference between the value of what one man produces as a worker in connection with the social organization, and what he could produce in a condition of isolation." This difference in value, which, under the rule of competition, is scrambled for, would, under a socialistic scheme, be the common property of all. "Toiling in isolation, human experience has found" that a man "would be fortunate if he could at the utmost produce enough to keep himself alive." Working in concert with his fellows, however, he and they "produce *enough to support all in the highest luxury and refinement.*" The effect of the revolution, therefore, will be that, instead of there being millions for some and nothing for the rest, as now, every one will have at least an income of $4,000 a year, that being the "annual credit" for the year 2000 (p. 29). In other words, the fund is here, but misappropriated. Let Society reclaim it, and the problem is solved.

With inequality Mr. Bellamy deals no less trenchantly:

> "If the modern man, by the aid of the social machinery, can produce fifty dollars' worth of product where he could produce not over a quarter of a dollar's worth without society, then forty-nine dollars and three-quarters out of every fifty dollars must be credited to the social fund to be equally distributed. The industrial efficiency of two men working without society might have differed as two to one—that is, while one man was able to produce a full quarter dollar's worth of work a day, the other could produce only twelve and a half cents' worth. This was a very great difference under those circumstances, but twelve and a half cents is so slight a proportion of fifty dollars as not to be worth mentioning."

There are two or three rather serious defects in this reasoning; one lies in the assumption that because man in existing society can do better work than in isolation, therefore, with a reorganization based on the abolition of private property, he would go on working and producing as at present. What is the connection between the two propositions? Another is the idea that the inequalities between human beings are only those represented by their differences as manual laborers. In a single family the inequalities are such that great distinction of mind or character is seldom repeated in two generations; on the contrary, the son of a man of great vigor of intellect and character is usually not a man of any note whatever. The historical view of the matter is that inequality is the natural law of the universe, and that equality, when we succeed in introducing it, in the interest of humanity and justice, is artificial. Mr. Bellamy's idea seems to be that all this is upset by the fact that one day laborer earns about as much as another. There can be no doubt whatever that, in a period of universal suffrage, if the majority of mankind, or of any community, could be persuaded, through such arguments, that by merely vesting the title to all property in the State, and going to work on the coöperative plan, each person could get $4,000 a year, the existing order would not stand for six months. But are they persuasive?

Every man has an indefeasible right to represent Utopia in any way that he pleases, and there will probably be a good deal of difference of opinion as to whether Mr. Bellamy's "Republic of the Golden Rule" is, in other respects than this immediate universal enrichment, an agreeable place. It is a place where independence of one's fellows in any degree is unattainable, where labor is forced, and ambition and the desire to excel is "treason to humanity." We have looked with some curiosity to see how the author provides for the certainly not impossible case of idleness, or lack of desire to cooperate. He seems to have nothing for it but a sort of exile; but then he makes labor under the new régime attractive. In a society in which man is naturally fond of work, and does not regard ease as the highest good, this problem does not really exist. But Mr. Bellamy gets over a good many other difficulties in the same way. The reader, if not on the watch, will hardly observe how he introduces here a new machine, there a new pleasure, and again a new motive, all tending to the increase of human happiness, while leaving the reader to attribute the change to Equality. There is certainly no connection between the "multiplication of power" and socialism, for all our greatest labor-saving inventions have been produced under the present individualistic system.

We are obliged to admit that the conception of life with our desires all gratified, and nothing either to hope or fear from fate or from ourselves, is, to our minds, one which, even on an income of $4,000 per capita, represents a somewhat infantile ideal. If we say that our desires are gratified, we must be, by definition, happy; yet can we conceive of happiness without its opposite? Is not the struggle with evil in its various forms the price of all enjoyment? Is not this struggle but another term for life itself? These questions will suggest themselves to the reader, but he will find no answer in Mr. Bellamy's pages.

The fact is, that though Mr. Bellamy represents his highly virtuous community as all at work, and glad to be at work, he has reduced their hours of labor, by means of labor-saving machinery and the "new chemistry," to such a point that their work has become play, and the tasks set by Society become a sort of children's game, in which the stress and agony of life are quite gone, and, in their stead, we press a button, bear gently on a lever, or turn a switch, while Equality does the rest. Thus, in reality, although a great deal is said about work, we find, in the end, that there is little or none, and that, strange as it may seem, after all, what our Utopian guide has had in mind all along, though he has cleverly concealed it, is the

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old dream of a paradise of sloth and ease. No wonder that in such a heaven individual ambition has become treason. It has never occurred to Mr. Bellamy that the reason why such a paradise is attractive to the multitude may be because man is an animal fond of sloth and ease, and that it is to this fondness that much of the inequality in life is attributable. The irony of life was surely never better illustrated than by the fact that thousands should cherish as their ideal a condition which everybody recognizes as being for his neighbor undesirable.

Whether as a literary man, or an economical writer, the world at large seems little likely to accept Mr. Bellamy at his own valuation. It is difficult to define his position, but he certainly belongs to a class apart, a prophet not without honor in his own and other countries, but in the domain of letters and knowledge not recognizable as having any special standing at all. Perhaps, if we said that, without being a charlatan, he does the work of a charlatan, we should not be far from right. As kings formerly had heralds to announce their approach, demagogues have their literary trumpeters who prepare the way for them; and when they propose crazy popular crusades against windmills, are sure to be preceded by preachers of the word and sowers of the seed. This work is nowadays greatly aided by the fact that a superficial education widely disseminated has made the whole world readers without making them good judges of what they read; and the result of this is that, outside the educated world—the world which has a continuous tradition of life and knowledge and literature—there exists a cosmos in which knowledge begins over again with each new generation, and in which millions of readers spend their lives in raising and discussing anew problems known by their more lucky and instructed fellow-creatures either to be settled and done with or to be insoluble. Just as there are pseudo-scientific inquirers ready to enter with keen zest into the question of perpetual motion and even the truth of the Copernican system and the curvature of the earth, so there are vast hordes of readers who will rush to buy books on any social question, and especially entertaining stories professing to have discovered the key to the regeneration of the world. This is the opportunity of writers like Mr. Bellamy. They can no more help writing than the others can reading. They fancy that they have a message to deliver, and lift up their voices and deliver their apologues with the zeal and unction of true prophets.

These facts explain many a contemporary reputation. Formerly any one who had fifty thousand readers was almost necessarily a man of real literary distinction, for the reason that the whole body of readers belonged to the comparatively instructed class. Education was hard to get, and meant the expenditure of time and money. The educated reading class corresponded roughly to the well-to-do class, who preserved all the traditions of life, society, and property. Now, for every one of these there are a hundred readers who have had all the avenues to speculation opened to them, without ever having been taught to think. For this multitude instructors come forward, themselves not more than half educated, who revive questions long disposed of, having no interest for the really educated, and raise a clamor over them which completely drowns the voice of real knowledge. Mr. Bellamy has got his notion of Equality from Jefferson and Jefferson's teachers, and undertakes to apply it to everything with a true doctrinaire's passion for uniformity. To make his preaching attractive, he has artfully appealed to the ruling and universal passion for wealth, and with his socialist wand has called up a world in which applied Equality produces for every one an easy life on $4,000 a year furnished by somebody else.

The Genesis of Shakespeare's Art: A Study of his Sonnets and Poems. By Edwin James Dunning. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1897.

The subjection of Shakspere, especially the Shakspere of the Sonnets, to a process of cryptic interpretation has become one of the abnormal but recognized phenomena of the day. It has been variously urged that these "deep-brained Sonnets" embody an allegory of Beauty, of Reason, of Immortality, of the Catholic Church, of Dramatic Art, or of the Evolution of the Ideal. The book whose title we give above, combines two of these theories, and, making a coherent series of the "Venus and Adonis," the Sonnets, and "The Lover's Complaint," reads into it the story of the genesis of Shakspere's art and of the evolution of his poetic ideal.

The process is simple and obvious. Consider the matter. Has not the 'Odyssey' been regarded as an allegory, even by eminent classical scholars? Did not Dante write with perpetual symbolism? Has not Emerson said that Shakspere's Sonnets "deserve to be studied in the critical manner in which the Italians explain the verses of Dante and Petrarch," and was it not the fashion of some of the great humanists of the Renaissance to interpret these verses allegorically? May we not refer to the example of Giordano Bruno, who wrote cryptic verse of his own (to which, it is true, he appended a prose commentary and interpretation), and have not several of the critics tried to establish the theory of a relationship of some sort between him and Shakspere? Did not Keats write that "Shakspere led a life of allegory; his works are the comments on it"? And has it not always been a customary thing for poets to figure forth the genesis of their art in their poetry, as, for recent example, Wordsworth in his "Prelude," or Swinburne in his "Thalassius"? Here in the case of Shakspere then we have a series or sequence of poems presenting a curious mixture of pieces, some of apparently universal and philosophic significance, others of intensely personal bearing, and still others perhaps of little or no meaning except as mere exercises in versification. Many of these poems, if taken literally, are difficult of explanation from all the evidence which we are able to command, if not quite inexplicable. How are we ever to reduce final order out of all this most admired confusion except by the method of allegorical interpretation? For order we must have in some way, by hook or by crook, if it costs us a thousand guesses to set us right! How can a generation nursed on the two dugs of science and of transcendental idealism be expected to tolerate uncertainty in matters of literary interpretation, evidence or no evidence, when theories are to be had for the asking?

Mr. Dunning offers as his guess a theory of ultra-idealistic bias. He sees in the Youth of the first series of the Sonnets, who likewise is prefigured in the Adonis of "Venus and Adonis," Shakspere's "personified poetic Ideal," and in the Dark Lady of the last series the contending influence of the element of Realism in Shakspere's art. The test of such an hypothesis is to apply it independently to the sonnets in question and see whether it really explains them and leaves them fuller of meaning for us. Artistic symbolism there obviously is in many of these poems. A poetic idealism and worship of beauty akin to that expressed in the classic passage from Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," beginning,

"If all the pens that ever poets held,"

are apparent in most of them. A few of the Sonnets, it is not to be denied, are prettily explained by the new theory, as, for example, those numbered 29, 43, 66, 68, and 126. Yet even in these the literal interpretation is the more obvious, natural, and effective. And what shall be the fate of others, such as Sonnets 30, 71, 73, 90, 109, 110, and 111, in which the personal meaning is so deep and strenuous and unmistakable? Read as mere allegories of the "poetic Ideal," these and many others like them pale their ineffectual fires and become as languid and passionless as the thinnest of metaphysical verse. Allegory will never do: it robs us of the poetry of our Sonnets in order to put a bastard philosophy in its place.

Mr. Dunning has expounded his theory with quiet address and fluency, although his initial assumptions and the absence of all logical or argumentative presentation make us suspect that the book is intended only for the true believers, and is not addressed to the Gentiles. The author has done a service, at any rate, in calling attention to many motives, common to the Sonnets and the other poems and the plays, which are unnoticed by other commentators. The fact, however, that similar motives are often to be found in other literature of the age, in which no allegory can possibly be concealed, is overlooked by Mr. Dunning as by so many other writers on the Sonnets. Yet if we must have an allegory, the one here expounded is as innocuous as any yet offered, and is more consistent with poetic probability than any other. It is true that, like the rest, it is pretty much cut out of whole cloth, that it emasculates the real beauty and human passion of most of the Sonnets, and that it really fails to help us to understand (other than in the most arbitrary way) the allusions and the concrete symbolism of these lyrics of the inner life; but at least it presents us Shakspere as an artist and poet interested in the problems of his art, rather than as a metaphysician, or as a controversialist, or as the bearer of an orphic message to his times. The interpretation has to be unduly stretched to cover the difficulties presented in such a sonnet as the 35th; on such sonnets as the 84th and the 102d it becomes manifestly hypersubtle and impossible; and to us, at least, the results of applying this method to the intense, human, and concrete passion of the Dark Lady series are nothing less than grotesque. That this series should be but a veiled argument on the theme of Realism vs. Idealism! One can imagine Shakspere rubbing his eyes with astonishment, if, where he dwells in the Elysian fields, word could be brought him of the fantastic ulte-

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rior meanings that a later world is reading into his lyric exercises.

"Others abide our question, Thou art free.
We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still,
Out-topping knowledge."

Two tempting corollaries inherent in his demonstration are neglected by the author. If the Sonnets and the poems are an allegory of the genesis of Shakspere's art, obviously the capstone of the whole edifice is supplied in the "Tempest." *Ferdinand* is the Youth of the Sonnets, and once more *Ariel* is the personification of the poetic Ideal or the poetic Imagination ("Where the bee sucks, there suck I"); *Caliban* is implacable Realism; and *Prospero* is the type of the poet himself (did Shakspere act the part?), who in the end breaks his wand and abandons his art for good and all ("Now my charms are all o'erthrown"—and see the rest of the Epilogue). Again, if the rivalry with the Rival Poet is one of art only, and if the contest between the two is over the common theme of poetic Beauty, why may not Spenser and the "Hymn of Heavenly Beauty" be hinted at? The "Four Hymns" were not published until 1596, and it is possible that the Sonnets were written at about that date. Moreover, "the proud full sail of his great verse" is a phrase which admirably characterizes Spenser's full and splendid rhythm, while it is remarkable that in Sonnet 85 Shakspere speaks of "every *hymn* that able spirit affords." Clearly Spenser is to be considered if we can only establish a basis of rivalry with Shakspere; and that is afforded if we accept the theory that Shakspere's envy is the result of purely professional jealousy of one whom he magnanimously accounts the greater "poet"—an envy, it is obvious, more plausibly directed against Spenser than Chapman—and that his emulation of this poet is purely concerned with the celebration of the common "master-mistress" of the two, poetic Beauty. The allegorical method should not stop short with results only partially worked out and finished!

The Dawn of Modern Geography: A History of Exploration and Geographical Science from the Conversion of the Roman Empire to A. D. 900. By C. Raymond Beazley, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: John Murray. 1897. 8vo, pp. xvi., 538.

Although no modern people has contributed so much to man's stock of earth-knowledge as the English, systematic accounts of the process have been strangely lacking in the English language. It is now more than two generations since the whole field was covered by an English writer, W. Desborough Cooley, in his 'History of Maritime and Inland Discovery.' Meanwhile, English geographical literature has been enormously enriched. It is high time, then, that the coördination and presentation of all this material should be undertaken in behalf of the English student. The late E. H. Bunbury laid a solid and enduring foundation for such a work in his treatise on Ancient Geography, but the more arduous and forbidding task of penetrating the dark continent of early mediæval geography, not hitherto attempted except in a fragmentary way, has now been undertaken by Mr. Beazley with an energy and zeal that deserve warm recognition.

'The Dawn of Modern Geography' deals with the state of geographical knowledge during the six centuries from the conversion of Constantine to the migrations of the Northmen. It is more in accord with our traditional views of the middle ages to regard this period as one of decay rather than as one of slow recovery, but Mr. Beazley makes it clear that the process of decay had been going on rapidly for a century before Diocletian. Such writers as Solinus and Martianus Capella, who became the authorities for the middle ages, were little above the intellectual level of their followers. From the ruins of the temple of ancient science they saved only the gargoyles. The real clue to this loss seems to have been, in part at least, the diversion of intellectual interests from the things of this world to those of the next. Yet in this very diversion of interests there is a glimmer betokening the coming dawn, for the concentration of thought upon heavenly things invested with irresistible fascination those regions of earth which were the scenes of sacred story. And so, in the early narratives of Pilgrims to the Holy Land we find the dim beginnings of a movement which culminated in the splendid achievements of the age of Prince Henry and Columbus.

Mr. Beazley's work consists of four parts: an account of the pilgrimage literature, of commercial and missionary travel, of the contemporary theory, and of early Arabic and Chinese geography. The first two divisions are the most interesting and novel, and, with the third, constitute a highly important contribution to our knowledge of the intellectual condition of the early middle ages. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, whose beginning antedates any authentic record, took on a new life after the visit of the Empress Mother Helena in 326, which was rewarded by the finding of the true cross, and by 333 we have in the Bordeaux Itinerary the first Christian guidebook to the Holy Land. That pilgrimages were already an old custom is fully attested by the wonderfully varied identification of the sites and relics of Biblical history. For example, in or near Jericho, the Bordeaux Pilgrim is shown the sycamore of Zaccheus, the house of Rahab the harlot, the spot where the Ark of the Covenant rested, and the twelve stones which the children of Israel brought out of the Jordan. Going from Jerusalem to Bethlehem the traveller visits the tombs of Rachel, Ezekiel, Asaph, Job, Jesse, David, and Solomon. Fourteen miles further on is the fountain where Philip baptized the eunuch, and at Mamre the pilgrim can sit under the shade of the oak that sheltered Abraham when he entertained the angels. The next important stage in pilgrim travel is marked by St. Jerome's residence in Bethlehem, and the most interesting narrative of this period is that attributed to Sylvia of Aquitaine, which was first made known in 1883. It is supposed to have been written about the year 380, and is an exceptionally full and independent account of the personal experiences of a lady from southern Gaul who spent four years in the East, going in one or two instances beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire. A translation of Sylvia's narrative was published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society in 1891.

The inroads of the Barbarians seem to have increased the number of religious travellers, and for the next forty years pilgrimages were very frequent. Jerome wrote that ladies from Rome "filled all the cities" of the East. About the middle of the fifth century there is a falling off, followed by a recovery in the age of Justinian. As time goes on, the passion for relics becomes more greedy and less discriminating. The handbooks of this period are often only catalogues of these marvels. In the 'Breviarius de Hierosolyma,' 527-530, the demands of the most restless curiosity could hardly fail of measurable satisfaction. The reader is informed where he may see "the holy lance made of the wood of the Cross, which shines at night like the sun in the glory of the day"; "the horn with which David and Solomon were anointed"; "the earth of which Adam was formed"; "the stone with which Stephen was stoned," etc. In this later period the most curious and interesting narrative is that of Antonine of Piacenza, written about 570. He is far more credulous than Sylvia. To her disappointment, she found that the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned was no longer to be seen. "Believe me," she writes, "the pillar itself was not visible, only the place is shown. The pillar itself is said to be covered in the Dead Sea. We saw the place, but no pillar; I cannot deceive you about this matter." Antonine, on the other hand, has no difficulty, and takes the pains to correct the false report as to Lot's wife and her pillar of salt, "that she is diminished in size by the licking of animals." He found the statue just the same as it had always been. At the Red Sea he visited the scene of the miraculous passage of the Israelites, then a tidal gulf, where, he says, at ebb-tide could still be seen the traces of Pharaoh's army and the marks of his chariot-wheels, "but all the arms have been turned into marble." The rise of Mohammedanism interrupted pilgrim travel for nearly a century. Late in the seventh century comes a revival, and the documents of this period have long been familiar in Wright's 'Early Travels in Palestine.'

Mr. Beazley's critical review of the history of geographical theory begins with the 'Collectanea' of Julius Solinus, whose compilation of curiosities from Pliny became a standard source of geographical eccentricities for a thousand years. Solinus probably wrote before 300 A. D., and it is a striking symptom of the advancing intellectual decay in the third century that his knowledge of the earth's surface is far behind that of Herodotus. Cosmas Indicopleustes is next taken up as the forerunner of the Biblical literalists. Mr. Beazley finds, however, that his 'Christian Topography' had only a slight influence on subsequent writers.

It has been possible to touch upon only a portion of the contents of Mr. Beazley's volume. The chapters on the early maps, on missionary and commercial travel, and on Arabian and Chinese geography are all interesting, the first especially so. In covering so extensive a field, almost as an explorer, it is not surprising that the author should make some slips, yet one is hardly prepared to find him citing as an instance of the ignorance of the Ravenna geographer that "Jornandes, the historian of the Goths, though professedly one of his main authorities, regularly appears as Jordanis," p. 305. As a whole, the work is an exceptional contribution to our knowledge, and deserves a grateful reception not only from the students of history and geography, but from all who enjoy the literature of travel.

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Dante in America: An Historical and Bibliographical Study. By Theodore W. Koch. Boston: Ginn & Co. (for the Dante Society). 1896.

The Treatment of Nature in Dante's Divina Commedia. By L. Oscar Kuhns. Edward Arnold. 1897.

The first half of Mr. Koch's volume is taken up with brief and somewhat amateurish sketches of famous American Dante scholars. Those relating to Ticknor, Longfellow, Parsons, Lowell, and Norton seem to contain nothing that is new; but with regard to Da Ponte, the romantic librettist of Mozart, who was the first to introduce the study of Dante into the New World, and the less known Richard Henry Wilde, whose important share in the discovery of the Bargello portrait has been lost sight of, the author has collected some exceedingly interesting information. The second and more valuable part of the volume consists of a detailed bibliography—as complete as possible—of all that has been published in the United States about Dante, including translations and even magazine articles and important book-reviews. In such work Mr. Koch is an expert, and his record of American thought and interest for nearly a century makes it worth while for us to review for a moment the period, with the object of seeing what of importance has really been accomplished in it.

American acquaintance with Dante seems certainly to have begun in New York, under the stimulus of Da Ponte, but deep interest in his works has, until recent years, been confined almost entirely to New England. Elsewhere he was read with an amateur's admiration and affection; it was only on the ground which the Puritans sowed thick with ethical and religious aspirations that study of the great moral allegory became more than a dilettante's pastime. As early as 1839 Longfellow translated a few passages from the "Purgatory" in his "Voices of the Night." In 1841 appeared Parsons's "Lines on a Bust of Dante," comparable with any of its class in the whole range of modern literature; in 1843, his remarkable version of the first ten cantos of the "Inferno." In 1867, Longfellow's translation of the whole 'Divine Comedy' was published; Parsons's of the "Inferno"; and Norton's of the 'New Life.' Lowell's well-known essay first appeared in 1872. From that time until 1888, the date of Dr. Fay's 'Concordance,' nothing of value was done, and with 1891, the date of Mr. Norton's translation, the brief list of important works comes to an end, unless we include Mr. Latham's version of Dante's 'Letters' (1891); Miss Hilliard's of the 'Banquet' (1889); Dr. Harris's suggestive 'Spiritual Sense of the Divine Comedy' (1889), and Mr. Lane's model 'Bibliography' (1890).

Small as this product is, it is an important one. We have three excellent translations, from different points of view, of the 'Divine Comedy,' the great Concordance, and an essay that has done much to widen the knowledge and appreciation of Dante's works. France has done far less, Germany and England not more. Indeed, in Italy itself the great poet, though more a name to worship conventionally, and though to a greater degree the subject of antiquarian and exegetical research, has not often been studied with so open a mind, with so little political and religious prejudice, as in this republic.

But the test of a poet's greatness or of love for him lies in the hearts of his readers, not in books about him. To the people at large the 'Divine Comedy' will always be a sealed book; its mastery demands too frequent readings, too protracted effort. There are many signs, however, that Dante's poem has brought to not a few of us (not merely men of learning) congenial and strengthening ethical and æsthetic conceptions, and that its best teachings have thus been absorbed, not without an effect on character, into our national life. It is at once unfortunate that the recent exodus of our young men into the wilderness of mere linguistic research has apparently greatly diminished, for some years, the powerful attraction of Dante for students of letters, and fortunate that the university-extension movement and kindred projects, dangerously superficial though they may sometimes be, have done so much to bring Dante before the people.

Prof. Kuhns's volume is Germanic in its scope and trend, for it takes account of all Dante's references to the outward physical world that is not the handiwork of man. It is, however, characteristically American in its practical treatment of the subject. It has a good index, and the whole mass of matter is classified in such a sensible fashion that no one can fail either to find in the volume any particular group of facts or to get a general survey of the field. We miss, however, a full discussion of what seems to us the most important question with regard to the whole matter: How far is Dante's feeling for nature in accord with our own, and how and what does it add to our pleasure? The point has been often raised but never fairly settled—certainly never on the basis of such an array of facts as Prof. Kuhns's industry and accuracy have at last provided. It is to be hoped some competent person may now give this deeper side of Dante's treatment of nature careful consideration. Of course, the necessities of rapid narrative and preoccupation with ethical matters make Dante's references to nature wholly cursory. It is evident, however, that he took pleasure, as we do, in observing and recalling simple and striking scenes, that he was interested in the habits and bearing of men and animals, and particularly moved by effects of light. He differs from us in a certain city-bred quality that shows itself in odd ways. The real forest was strange and horrible to him, as it is not to us in this athletic modern time; his flowers were garden flowers; birds, except the larger species, he scarcely noticed; for horses and dogs he does not seem to have cared. He anticipated our curious thrill of delicate awe and pleasure before the sea and the stars, though, disdainful of adjectives, he never read into nature what is not plainly there for the normal man. Notwithstanding that his whole poem is a parable, it was only on rare occasions, which should be carefully enumerated, that, like holy writ, he availed himself of physical imagery for the specific statement of spiritual truths. These are slight hints, and subject to correction.

Arnold of Rugby: His School Life and Contributions to Education. Edited by J. J. Findlay, M.A., with an introduction by the Bishop of Hereford. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1897.

This book is almost entirely a compilation from Stanley's 'Life' and from Arnold's own sermons and miscellaneous writings. The original part consists of a preface, an introduction; a bibliography of Arnold, Rugby, and Public School literature; and an almost fantastically elaborate analytical index to the whole book. It is not very easy to see the reason for its compilation at all. The materials which make up the bulk of it have been long before the world and have attained a wide circulation. As the author himself intimates, the popular opinion in England of Arnold, now that he has been dead more than half a century, is made up, and may be accepted, unless by minute critics. Certainly nothing is to be obtained for Englishmen from such material as this book contains to illustrate or correct that view.

With Americans it is somewhat different, and the contents of this volume may have a use in showing Arnold as he really was. There is an Arnold legend, one might say myth, prevailing in the United States, like the Tory myth of Pitt, spoken of by Macaulay. Up to the appearance of 'School Days at Rugby' in 1858, though Stanley's 'Life' had been published for more than ten years, Americans generally were in deep ignorance of Arnold, of Rugby, and of the English public schools as a class; an ignorance not lessened by the totally different acceptation of the term "public school" in the two countries. 'Tom Brown' created an excitement unparalleled on such a theme. It at once gave currency to an ideal view of Arnold and his services. Stanley's 'Life' was reread, and Arnold exhibited as the model educator, who had revolutionized by precept and example all the schools of England, and whose pattern all American schoolmasters would do well to follow. The fact that Thomas Hughes gave his strong sympathy to the North in our civil war increased this cultus, and the three Thomases were confused in a way worthy of the Autocrat's conception of the same name. (The writer of this article has known Dr. Arnold spoken of as the author of 'Tom Brown's School-Days.') Every time an energetic and esteemed schoolmaster died after some years' conspicuous service, he became an "Arnold of America." We can testify from personal knowledge to four such in New England alone.

This legendary view, like all similar views, has been of doubtful service both to Arnold and to his worshippers. Great as were his merits in his own field of action, he was hardly the man to be copied in his own country, and wholly unfit for a model to an American schoolmaster. One of the four "Arnolds of America" mentioned above, who sacrificed his life in the endeavor to build up a model school, succeeded remarkably in almost everything of his own devising, and reasonably in what he took from his own American place of training; his deliberate attempts to copy Arnold's methods were mostly failures. Arnold was a devoted, one might say bigoted, churchman, who could scarcely see a chance of salvation out of the Church of England; yet he was held in his lifetime a heretic and latitudinarian. He was a loyal son of Winchester School, and cherished to the last some of the most antiquated public-school tyrannies, like flogging and fagging; yet he never won the entire confidence of those who believed in the old English public-school system, and many in England now think that that system has been most successfully adapted

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to modern needs by the work of other minds than his, or by his pupils, who have discarded some of his hobbies. He was intensely eager to develop each pupil's individual character and to appeal to the best motives in every boy. Yet he scarcely ever succeeded in understanding younger boys, before the age when they could think about becoming men; and it was left for his third successor, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, to release Rugby boys from much of the iron tyranny of an inflexible system, which Arnold could see no sense in relaxing.

That he loved righteousness and hated iniquity; that he made moral and intellectual training go hand in hand; that he came before his pupils as one of themselves, asking their help in raising the school to what they all longed to have it; that his life, in Rugby and out of Rugby, was one long personal appeal to fight for Christian English manhood in all its truth, purity, energy, and self-devotion, and that these qualities are all worthy of admiration and imitation, modified by the patriotism of every country, is as true now as it was in 1842. But when we come to the specific problems he encountered, and the specific arms he used, a thoughtful teacher must pronounce both to be nearly obsolete. It is a very poor eulogium, and one that Arnold would have rejected for himself and regretted for others, to call any one the Arnold of America; and if, as is very probable, a system of large boarding-schools will be extensively developed in the United States, they must not seek to be Rugbys or Etons, nor even new Andovers or Exeters, but adapted to the needs of their age and their pupils by the efforts of men as patriotic, as fearless, as original, as devoted as Thomas Arnold.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Ames, P. W. The Mirror of the Sinful Soul. Published for the Royal Society of Literature. London: Asher & Co.
Browning, Robert. The Pied Piper of Hamelin, and Other Poems. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 15c.
Buchan, John. Sir Walter Raleigh. Stanhope Essay, 1897. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.
Crow, Martha F. Elizabethan Sonnet-Cycles. Idea—Fidessa—Chloris. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.50.
Cumberland, Barlow. The Story of the Union Jack. Toronto: William Briggs. $1.50.
Dulles, Dr. C. W. Accidents and Emergencies. Fifth edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son & Co. $1.
Jacobs, W. W. Many Cargoes. 2d ed. F. A. Stokes Co. $1.
King, Dr. C. R. Life and Correspondence of Rufus King. Vol. IV. 1801-1806. Putnams.
Lambert, P. A. Analytic Geometry. Macmillan. $1.50.
Magenat, Jules. French Practical Course. Macmillan. $1.
Mitford, Bertram. The King's Assegai. A Matabili Story. R. F. Fenno & Co. $1.25.
Morfill, Prof. W. R. A Short Grammar of the Bulgarian Language. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
Pellissier, Georges. Le Mouvement Littéraire au XIXe Siècle. 4ième édition. Paris: Hachette; New York: Lemcke & Buechner.
Perry, Prof. John. The Calculus for Engineers. Edward Arnold.
Pettingill's Newspaper Directory. 1897. New York: Pettingill & Co.
Poems and Essays from the Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Publishers' Trade List Annual, 1897. The Publishers' Weekly.
Quigley, Dorothy. The Way to Keep Young. E. P. Dutton & Co.
Smith, Rev. J. T. Brother Azarias: The Life Story of an American Monk. New York: W. H. Young & Co.
Skeat, Prof. W. W. Chaucerian and Other Pieces. Being a Supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
Stansbury, C. F. Klondike, the Land of Gold. F. T. Neely.
Thorburn, S. S. His Majesty's Greatest Subject. Appletons. $1.
Vignéras, S. Une Mission Française en Abyssinie. Paris: Colin & Cie.
White, W. H. A Description of the Wordsworth and Coleridge MSS. in the Possession of Mr. T. Norton Longman. Longmans, Green & Co. $3.50.
Wood, Rev. J. G. Half Hours in Field and Forest. Whittaker. $1.25.

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PACKARD'S ZOOLOGY.
By Prof. A. S. PACKARD of Brown University. *Briefer Course. Revised and enlarged Aug.*, 1897. 358 pp., 12mo, $1.12 *net*

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